THE

MONTHLY EPITOME

FOR JULY, 1804.

LX. *The* SCENERY, ANTIQUITIES, *and* BIOGRAPHY *of* SOUTH WALES, *from Materials collected during two Excurſions in the Year* 1803. *By* BENJ. HEATH MALKIN, *Eſq. M.A. F.R.S. Embelliſhed with Views, drawn on the Spot, and engraved by* LAPORTE; *and a Map of the Country. Longman and Rees. Quarto,* 364 *pages.*

THIS ingenious and elaborate work is divided into thirty-eight chapters, containing much intereſting information reſpecting the principality. Our firſt ſpecimen ſhall be the account of the famous *New Bridge*, built by a common maſon.

"The deſcent on the northern ſide of Llantriſent opens to the view a country, where the effects of cultivation are leſs generally viſible, and the leſs expanded vale partakes the character of the hilly ſcenery by which it is ſurrounded. On paſſing the cleft in which the town ſtands, the change in the face of nature is very ſtriking, and the contraſt of character between a mountain valley and that which you have juſt left, rarely impreſſes itſelf more ſtrongly on the mind. From this eminence Caſtella, a ſeat belonging to the family of Trahaern, is ſeen to much advantage, and forms, by its cultivated and inhabited appearance, a gay and brilliant ſpot in a landſcape, whoſe prevailing ſtyle is grand and ſombre. It was once, as the name denotes, a fortified place; but what bloody ſcenes have been acted there, it has not been my fortune to diſcover. Perhaps its retirement within the hills has involved it in a peaceful and happy ſecurity.

"At the bottom of the long deſcent, the road on the right leads to Yr Evel Iſla, and acroſs the Taff to Caerphilly Caſtle; but the road to New Bridge carries you ſtraight forward up a hill, higher than that you have juſt deſcended, and places you at once in the unfrequented wilds, which compoſe the interior of Glamorganſhire. For about three miles, nothing can be conceived more dreary than this almoſt impaſſable road: and it may not be unſeaſonable to inform the traveller, that it is impracticable to paſs this way in a covered carriage, but with four horſes, and then at conſiderable riſk to the vehicle. At very great inconvenience, and with every ſenſation the reverſe of pleaſure, is this broad and high ridge croſſed over, where the effects of cultivation, ſo miſerably diſproportioned to the toil, impreſs a gloom beyond that of actual barrenneſs, without poſſeſſing the ſublimity of naked nature, to raiſe and inſpire the imagination. But the change, on reaching the brow of a very ſteep hill, a mile in length, is inſtantaneous and delightful. The vale of Taff diſplays itſelf at once, in the very ſpot where its artificial and natural beauties are moſt eminently combined. The confluence of the Taff and Rontha Vawr, each rolling impetuouſly over its bed of rocks; the brawling of ſmaller and nearer rills, whoſe waters are unſeen, but the ſound of their fall diſtinct; the amphitheatre of hills, of which

two, the boldeſt and moſt grand, ſeem to defend the paſſes of the Taff, and to be connected by that ſtupendous bridge, viewed from this ſpot in all the triumphs of its art; the luxuriance of the hanging woods diverſified by projecting maſſes of rock, that relieve the eye from the ſatiety of richneſs; the hills which cloſe in upon the river above and below this wideſt part of the vale; all theſe circumſtances, ruſhing at once upon the ſight, after a long Lent of drearineſs, combine to make up as pleaſurable a ſcene, as the traveller can wiſh, to recompence his labour. The effect of the bridge is much more ſenſibly felt, if it is firſt ſeen from this eminence, than if your approach is from the Cardiff road; and I muſt take occaſion here to obſerve, that the vale of Taff is viewed to more advantage, by taking the turnpike road from New Bridge to Cardiff or Llandaff, than by coming up from either of thoſe places. The appearance of the bridge from the hill on the Llantriſent road has generally been likened to that of a rainbow, from the lightneſs, width, and elevation, of the arch. Without weighing the exactneſs of a ſimile, I may ſafely ſay that the effect of ſuch a ſtructure, in ſuch a poſition between two rocky but well-wooded crags, with a conſiderable reach of the river and valley ſeen through the lofty arch, affords an inſtance ſcarcely to be paralleled, of art happily introduced amongſt the wildeſt ſcenes of nature. It is a queſtion therefore to be aſked, what eminent artiſt, whether from our own or ſome foreign academy, furniſhed this extraordinary deſign. But as the circumſtances of this Welch bridge-builder were totally different from thoſe, in which ſo celebrated a work might be ſuppoſed to have been undertaken, I conceive that it will be adding ſomething to the ſtock of intereſting biography, if I ſupply the deficiency of former publications, by the following account, drawn up from the communications of his ſon, David Edwards, with which I was favoured at his own houſe, in the month of October, 1803.

"William Edwards was the ſon of a farmer, who had two other ſons and a daughter. The family lived in the pariſh of Eglwyſilan, in the county of Glamorgan, very near the ſpot which was hereafter to be the foundation of its celebrity. William Edwards was born in the year 1719. His father died when he was only two years old. He was the youngeſt ſon. He, with his other two brothers and ſiſter, lived with their mother on the farm, till he was about ſixteen or eighteen years of age. When he had reached his fifteenth year, he frequently repaired the walls, or ſtone fences, of the farm. Every traveller, who is acquainted with Wales, muſt have remarked, that ſuch fences are common in the mountain diſtrict. He was obſerved to perform his work in a ſtyle uncommonly neat and firm, and with an expedition ſurpaſſing that of moſt others. Some friends, obſerving this, adviſed the elder brother to encourage him in this employment, not only on their own farm, but in the ſervice of any neighbours, who might wiſh to engage him. William readily aſſented to this propoſal, and worked almoſt continually at wall-building, for which his talents were in eager requeſt. He added his earnings regularly to the common ſtock of his mother and brothers, who carried on the buſineſs of the farm. The fences in this part of the country are called in technical phraſeology dry walls, from the circumſtance of their being conſtructed without any mortar. Some time after he had exerciſed his ingenuity in this way, ſome maſons, regularly brought up to the trade, came to the neighbourhood for the purpoſe of erecting a ſhed for ſhoeing horſes, at a ſmith's and farrier's ſhop. William Edwards admired the neatneſs with which they conſtructed the pillars, and other parts of the ſhed, and felt an anxious wiſh for the ability to do the ſame. He often left his work, and came to a field oppoſite the ſmith's ſhop, where the maſons were employed. He obſerved that with the common maſon's hammer of the country, one end of which is alſo an axe, they were able to dreſs their ſtones very neatly; and this led him to the diſcovery, that the principal reaſon why he could not do the ſame, aroſe from his hammer not being ſteeled. He made all poſſible haſte, therefore, to procure from a ſmith ſome hammers better ſuited to his purpoſe, ſuch as he obſerved theſe maſons to uſe; and found that with them he could execute his dry-walling

much better, and with a neatneſs far beyond what he had before been able to accompliſh. Being thus furniſhed with proper tools, and having acquired a degree of dexterity in the uſe of them, he aſpired to a higher rank in his profeſſion; and from a dry-wall builder, hoped to become a builder of houſes. Soon afterwards, he undertook to build a little work-ſhop for a neighbour; and gained great applauſe for the propriety with which he performed his contract. A very ſhort period had elapſed, before he was employed to erect a mill in his own pariſh; and it was in the proſecution of this building, that he firſt became acquainted with the principles of an arch. When this mill was finiſhed, it did not merely meet with cold approbation, but was admired by all approved judges as an excellent piece of maſonry. He was now conſidered as the beſt workman in that part of the country. Employment was thruſt upon him on better grounds than Malvolio's greatneſs; and as ſkill and fidelity are indiſpenſably requiſite in a buſineſs, which requires the evidence of time and experience to detect faults, not then to be remedied, application was generally made to William Edwards, by thoſe who wiſhed to avoid diſappointment and altercation. In 1746, he undertook to build a new bridge over the river Taff, at the ſpot, the ſingularties of which have introduced him to our attention. This he executed in a ſtyle ſuperior to any thing of the kind in this, or indeed any other part of Wales, for neatneſs of workmanſhip and elegance of deſign. It conſiſted of three arches, elegantly light in their conſtruction. The hewn ſtones were excellently well dreſſed, and cloſely jointed. It was admired by all who ſaw it. But this river runs through a very deep vale, that is more than uſually woody, and crowded about with mountains. It is alſo to be conſidered, that many other rivers of no mean capacity, as the Crue, the Bargoed Taff, and the Cunno, beſides almoſt numberleſs brooks that run through long, deep, and well-wooded vales or glens, fall into the Taff in its progreſs. The deſcents into theſe vales from the mountains being in general very ſteep, the water in long and heavy rains collects into theſe rivers with great rapidity and force; raiſing floods that in their deſcriptions would appear abſolutely incredible to the inhabitants of open and flat countries, where the rivers are neither ſo precipitate in their courſes and projections, nor have ſuch hills on each ſide to ſwell them with their torrents. Such a flood unfortunately occurred after the completion of this undertaking, which tore up the largeſt trees by the roots, and carried them down the river to the bridge, where the arches were not ſufficiently wide to admit of their paſſage. Here therefore they were detained. Bruſhwood, weeds, hay, ſtraw, and whatever lay in the way of the flood, came down, and collected about the branches of the trees, that ſtuck faſt in the arches, and choaked the free current of the water. In conſequence of this obſtruction to the flood, a thick and ſtrong dam, as it were, was thus formed. The aggregate of ſo many collected ſtreams, being unable to get any further, roſe here to a prodigious height, and with the force of its preſſure carried the bridge entirely away before it. William Edwards had given the moſt ample ſecurity, both in his own perſon and the ſureties of reſpectable friends, for the ſtability of the bridge during the ſpace of ſeven years. Of courſe he was obliged to erect another; and he proceeded on his duty with all poſſible ſpeed. The bridge had only ſtood about two years and a half. The ſecond bridge was of one arch, for the purpoſe of admitting freely under it whatever incumbrances the floods might bring down. The ſpan or chord of this arch was one hundred and forty feet; its altitude thirty-five feet; the ſegment of a circle whoſe diameter was one hundred and ſeventy feet. The arch was finiſhed, but the parapets not yet erected, when ſuch was the preſſure of the unavoidable ponderous work over the haunches, that it ſprung up in the middle, and the key-ſtones were forced out. This was a ſevere blow to a man, who had hitherto met with nothing but misfortune in an enterprize, which was to eſtabliſh or ruin him in his profeſſion. William Edwards, however, poſſeſſed a courage which did not eaſily forſake him, ſo that he was not greatly diſconcerted.

He engaged in it the third time; and by means of three cylindrical holes through the work over the haunches, ſo reduced the weight over them, that there was no longer any danger from it. Theſe holes or cylinders riſe above each other, aſcending in the order of the arch, three at each end, or over each of the haunches. The diameter of the loweſt is nine feet; of the ſecond, ſix feet; and of the uppermoſt, three feet. They give the bridge an air of uncommon elegance. The ſecond bridge fell in 1751. The third, which has ſtood ever ſince, was completed in 1755. It is generally ſuppoſed, that William Edwards experienced the liberality of ſome gentlemen in the county, which was increaſed by the gratuities of others, who came from many parts of the kingdom to ſee the bridge and its builder: but of this we have no clear or certain accounts; nor do his family know that he was ever indebted for any emolument but to his own induſtry and abilities.

"Hitherto the Rialto was eſteemed the largeſt arch in Europe, if not in the world. Its ſpan or chord was ninety-eight feet. But New Bridge is forty-two feet wider; and was till lately, if it is not ſtill ſo, and I am not aware that its claim to this diſtinction is invalidated, the largeſt arch in the world, of which we have any authentic account. The fame of this bridge introduced William Edwards to public notice; and he was employed to build many other bridges in South Wales. One of the next bridges that he conſtructed was Uſk Bridge, over the river Uſk, at the town of Uſk in Monmouthſhire. It was a large and handſome work. He afterwards built the following bridges, in the order of ſucceſſion which is here aſſigned them. A bridge of three arches over the river Tawy; Pont ar Tawy, over the ſame river, about ten miles above the town of Swanſea. This was of one arch, its chord eighty feet, with one cylinder over the haunches. Bettws Bridge in Caermarthenſhire, conſiſting of one arch, forty-five feet in the ſpan. Llandovery Bridge in the ſame county, conſiſting of one arch, eighty-four feet in the ſpan, with one cylinder over the haunches. Wychbree Bridge, over the river Tawy, about two miles above Morriſton: this has one arch, ninety-five feet in ſpan, twenty feet in altitude, with two cylinders over each of the haunches to relieve them. He built Aberavon Bridge in Glamorganſhire, conſiſting of one arch, ſeventy feet in ſpan, fifteen feet in altitude, but without cylinders. He likewiſe built Glaſbury Bridge, near Hay, in Breknockſhire, over the river Wye: it conſiſts of five arches, and is a light, elegant bridge. The arches are ſmall ſegments of large circles on high piers, as beſt adapted to facilitate the paſſage of floods under the bridge, and travellers over it.

"William Edwards deviſed very important improvements in the art of bridge-building. His firſt bridges of one arch he found to be too high, ſo as to be difficult for carriages, and even horſes, to paſs over. The ſteeps at each end of New Bridge in particular are very inconvenient, from the largeneſs and altitude of the arch. This peculiarity, it is true, adds much to its perſpective effect as a part of the landſcape; but the ſober market-traveller is not recompenſed for the toil of aſcending and deſcending an artificial mountain, by the compariſon of a rainbow and the raptures of a draughtſman. He avoided this defect in his ſubſequent works; but it was by a cautious gradation that he attempted to correct his early and erroneous principles, and to conſult the eaſe of the public, at the ſame time that he ſurmounted the greateſt difficulties of his occupation. At length he diſcovered, not by reading, converſation, or any other mode of extrinſic inſtruction, but by dint of his own genius matured in the ſchool of experience, that where the abutments are ſecure from the danger of giving way, arches of much leſs ſegments, and of far leſs altitude, than general opinion had hitherto required, are perfectly ſecure, and render the bridges much eaſier for carriages to paſs over, and in every reſpect adapt them better to the purpoſes of a ready and free communication. Impreſſed with the importance of thoſe rules, by which he had aſſiduouſly perfected his own practice, he was in the habit of conſidering his own branch of architecture as reducible to three great requiſites; durability; the freedom

of the water flowing under; and the eaſe of the traffic paſſing over. Theſe are certainly maxims of peculiar importance in bridges of one arch, which are not only the beſt adapted to ſituations, where tremendous floods occur, but in many caſes are the only bridges ſecurely practicable in mountain vallies.

"The literary knowledge of William Edwards was at firſt confined to the Welſh language, which he could read and write from early youth. He was ſuppoſed to be rather obſtinate when a boy; an imputation which generally reſts on genius, that ſees beyond the ſcope of thoſe by whom it is controlled. His own account of this alleged temper was, that he always conſidered whether any thing that was propoſed to him, or any principle that he was required to act upon, coincided with his own ideas of rectitude. If he found that it did, he firmly perſiſted in it. His general character was that of uncommon reſolution and inflexibility. He was very wild, as it is commonly reported of him, till about eighteen years of age. After that period, he became very ſteady and ſedate. A neighbour inſtructed him a little in arithmetic. About the age of twenty or twenty-one, he undertook the building of a large iron forge at Cardiff, and lodged with a perſon named Walter Roſſer, a baker, and blind. This man taught Engliſh reading. William Edwards was alive to every opportunity of improvement, and rapidly acquired what he eagerly purſued. He ſeems, indeed, to have poſſeſſed a mind, that could not eaſily be ſtopped in its progreſs. To the two languages, however, his attainments in literature were confined; but their application to the various branches of ſtudy in which he was engaged, afforded conſtant exerciſe even to his induſtry and ſpirit of inquiry. After he had performed his engagement at Cardiff, he built many good houſes, with ſeveral forges and ſmelting houſes, and was for many years employed at works of this nature by John Morris, of Claſemont, Eſq.

"Caerphilly Caſtle is in his native pariſh. He has often been heard to ſay, that he would frequently viſit that celebrated ruin, and ſtudy the principles of its excellent maſonry, with all its various peculiaries, appearing in thoſe venerable remains. He conſidered himſelf to have derived more important knowledge from this, than from any other circumſtance. Indeed, his principles were formed on thoſe of the Caerphilly Caſtle maſonry. He was, what may with ſufficient propriety be termed, a maſon of the ancient caſtle, or Gothic ſchool. His manner of hewing and dreſſing his ſtones was exactly that of the old caſtle maſons. He put them together in a ſtyle of cloſeneſs, neatneſs, and firmneſs, that is never ſeen but in thoſe ancient, and, as far as we know, everlaſting edifices. His ſon is perhaps the only workman remaining, who on any occaſion practiſes the ancient maſonry: and in the modern he is equally a proficient.

"The full complement of buſineſs, which uſually attends a high reputation in any line, might be ſuppoſed to have engroſſed all the time and thoughts of a ſelf-taught man. But William Edwards united with his trade the occupation of a farmer during the whole of his life. Nor was Sunday, though a ſabbath, a day of reſt to him; for then he had clerical functions to exerciſe. In his religious ſentiments he was a diſſenter, of the denomination ſtyled Independents. About 1750, he was regularly ordained according to the uſage of the ſect of which he was a member; and about the ſame time was choſen miniſter of the congregation meeting at a chapel in his native pariſh, where he officiated for forty years, and till he died. He was a Calviniſt, but of a very liberal deſcription: indeed, he carried his charity ſo far, that many perſons ſuſpected he had changed his opinions, and for that reaſon ſpoke very unhandſomely of him. For a length of time, during the laſt years of his miniſtry, he always avoided in his diſcourſes thoſe points of doctrine that were more peculiarly in diſpute between the Calviniſts and other parties. He frequently repeated and enforced a maxim, well worthy the adoption of the moſt enlightened and eminent divines: that the love of God and of our neighbour is the ultimate end of all religions, which having attained, their poſſeſſors had arrived at their object; and that it is againſt the ſpirit of Chriſtianity to

ſuppoſe, that among all parties, be they what they may, there are not many who have indiſputably obtained this diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic. Few among his party were conſidered to be ſo edifying in their diſcourſes as he was; and this ſpecimen has a ſtrong tendency to accredit the opinion: but ſentiments of ſuch liberality and moderation muſt have been ſuſpected of trenching a little on the ſoundneſs of his Calviniſm. Another principle of his evinced that his judgment was equal to his candour. He always declared it to be the duty of a religious ſociety, to ſupport their miniſter decently; and for this reaſon he took from his congregation the ſtipulated ſalary, though he never converted a ſingle farthing of it to his own uſe, but diſtributed the whole among the poor members of the church, and even added very conſiderably to this largeſs from his own perſonal property. He very wiſely alleged, that though a lucrative buſineſs would have allowed him to officiate gratuitouſly, his ſucceſſor might be differently circumſtanced; and the people, relieved from a burden for a time, would look with an evil eye on an inſtructor, who had it not in his power to exhibit ſimilar diſintereſtedneſs. So judicious a mixture of prudence and generoſity might furniſh a leſſon to certain undiſcriminating enthuſiaſts, who brand with the opprobious name of hire thoſe fair emoluments, from which reſpectable abilities, however or wherever employed, are entitled to derive eaſe and competence. From theſe authentic notices it will ſufficiently appear, that thoſe who have termed him ſarcaſtically, or by way of ridicule, a methodiſt preacher, have egregiouſly miſrepreſented him. He never officiated at any of the methodiſt meetings. He frequently preached at the diſſenting meeting-houſe of the Rev. Lewis Rees, father of Dr. Abraham Rees, the editor of the New Encyclopedia. This meeting-houſe was ſituated near Morriſton, the building of which he ſuperintended. Many of his diſcourſes were taken down in ſhort hand by William Jones, clerk to Mr. Padley of Swanſea. They were always delivered in Welſh. It may well be ſuppoſed that he deteſted an intolerant or perſecuting ſpirit, and always reprobated the rancour of too many diſſenters towards the eſtabliſhed church. He was well reſpected by the moſt intelligent and liberal of all ſects and parties, and died, very much lamented by all who knew him, in the year 1789, and in the ſeventieth year of his age, in his native pariſh of Eglwyſilan, where he lies buried in the churchyard. He had ſix children: four ſons and two daughters. Thomas, David, and Edward, were brought up to their father's trade; William was ſhot at Gibraltar in the American war.

"His ſon David is likewiſe very ſkilful in bridge-building, the principles of which he learnt by working with his father. Among many others, he built in Caermarthenſhire, Llandilo Bridge, of three very light, elegant, and large arches, over the river Towy, ſix miles above the town of Caermarthen; Edwinsford Bridge over the river Cothy; Pontloyrig over the river Taw, that divides the counties of Caermarthen and Pembroke; Bedwas Bridge over the Remny, between the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth; and, laſt of all, Newport Bridge, over the Uſk in Monmouthſhire: and this, if we conſider the impediments with which he had to ſtruggle here, muſt be allowed to have been a very arduous undertaking. The difficulty of making good foundations, together with the hazards attending Welſh mountain floods from the land, and the furious Severn tides from the Briſtol Channel, might have deterred a leſs enterpriſing artiſt; but he ſurmounted every obſtacle, and completed it in 1801. It conſiſts of five arches, ſupported by high piers. The central arch is ſeventy feet in the ſpan, and twenty-two feet and a half high from the baſe or chord of the arch. The other arches are each ſixty-two feet in the ſpan, and twenty-two feet in altitude. The piers are fourteen feet wide at the ſpringing of the arches. The height from low-water mark to the top of the parapet, is fifty-ſeven feet. It is a very ornamental, magnificent, ſcientific, and conveniently conſtructed bridge.

"Mr. David Edwards lives at preſent in Glamorganſhire, in a good farm of about five hundred pounds per annum. He is very much reſpected in his neighbourhood, ſimple in his

manners, hoſpitable in his houſe, and very intelligent in his profeſſion. His ſon William, brought up to the trade, is a very ſkilful maſon, and particularly ſo in all kinds of bridge and water works. He now ſuperintends many of the locks and bridges of the Kennet and Avon navigation from London to Briſtol: but his father is not informed whether he has yet entered into a contract for the rebuilding of Caerleon Bridge in Monmouthſhire. The preſent is an uncommon inſtance of the ſame taſte and talents pervading a family for three generations. Bridge-building and farming ſeem deſtined to be their hereditary employments."

Caerphilly Caſtle is thus intereſtingly deſcribed.

"Caerphilly Caſtle was once the largeſt in Great Britain, next to Windſor, and it is without exception the moſt extenſive ruin. Its magnitude and ſtrength have cauſed the probability of its origin to be much controverted: and it is perhaps too much the cuſtom to queſtion the authenticity of thoſe documents or traditions, which happen not exactly to tally with our own conjectures or preconcerted hypotheſes. The memorials which I have been able to collect, from the Welſh Archæology, extracted for me by Mr. Edward Williams, and from other ſources, received as the moſt authentic in that country, furniſh the following broken and interrupted particulars of this place from very early times.

"Cenydd, the ſon of Gildas, the celebrated author of the epiſtle De Excidio Britanniæ, founded a church and monaſtery in the eaſtern, and another in the weſtern part of Glamorgan. This anecdote is found in a very ancient manuſcript account of the Britiſh ſaints, in the Welſh language; but no place is aſſigned to the firſt of theſe. To the ſecond our attention will be drawn hereafter. But Caradoc Lhancarvan, in a copy differing from that which Powel tranſlated, ſupplies the deficiency by informing us, that, in the year 831, the Saxons of Mercia came unexpectedly in the night, and burned the monaſtery dedicated to St. Cenydd, ſtanding where Caerphilly Caſtle is now; though there was at that time a ſworn truce between the Britons of Glamorgan and the Mercian Saxons. In the year 1094, the Earls of Arundel and of Gloceſter, Arnold de Harcourt and Neale le Vicount, came with an army againſt the Welſh of Glamorgan, in aid of Robert Fitzhamon. The armies met, and in the battle of Gellygare, which is five miles north of Caerphilly, the natives ſlew every one of thoſe Norman leaders, and accompliſhed an exemplary vengeance on their enemies, taking from them very rich and copious ſpoils. Some of the Normans eſcaped into their caſtles; but few of them were ſo fortunate; for Ednerth ap Cadwgan, with his ſons, Gruffyth and Ivor, followed them very cloſely, and ſlew great numbers in their retreat. Others of the defeated army fled from their purſuers into England; while ſuch of the Normans as had been able to ſecure themſelves in their caſtles, granted, as they termed it, but more properly reſtored to the Welſh, their ancient laws and immunities, with their lands in free tenure.

"The continuator of Caradoc Lhancarvan informs us, that in the year 1217, Rees Vechan, Prince of South Wales, took this caſtle, but it is not mentioned from whom: the garriſon, however, to impede his operations, from the ſucceſs of which they dreaded ſummary puniſhment, burnt the town. Hence there appears to be ſome truth in the tradition at Caerphilly, that the town was formerly much larger than it is now; but that in early times it had been burnt, during a ſiege of the caſtle. They ſtill ſhew in the fields, and other vicinities of the town, many ancient foundations; with various veſtiges of buildings; and ſo late as the year 1802, in digging foundations for a new fulling-mill and other works, deſtined for the purpoſes of a woollen manufactory, in addition to thoſe which are already eſtabliſhed there, ſome very ſtrong old foundations were diſcovered, with ſeveral pieces of oak timber, ſome of them partly burnt, a great number of old nails, and other remains, that confirmed the traditional relation. Theſe diſcoveries were made nearly a quarter of a mile from the preſent ſmall town. It is mentioned in the annals of the ſame year, that Lhewelin ap Jorwerth, prince of North Wales, Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powiſe, ſon of Owen Cyveiliog, and

Rees Vechan, Prince of South Wales, confederated to deſtroy the caſtles of the Normans and Engliſh in Wales, and among others, they took the caſtle, which is the ſubject of the preſent remarks. But whether we are to underſtand, that theſe two accounts refer to the ſame event, and that the reduction of this caſtle was allotted to Rees Vechan, in the arrangement of their concerted operations; or that he loſt it again, and that the allies immediately combined their forces to recover it, is neither eaſy nor important to aſcertain. In the year 1218, Lhewelin ap Jorweth is repreſented as having taken this caſtle once more from Reynald de Bruſe, Lord of Brecknock, and having then aſſigned it to the cuſtody of Rees, Prince of South Wales, Rees ſoon afterwards raſed it to the ground. In 1219, John de Bruſe, ſon of William de Bruſe, married Margaret, daughter of Lhewelin ap Jorweth, Prince of North Wales. In 1221, John de Bruſe rebuilt and fortified this caſtle, with the permiſſion and by the advice of his father-in-law, Prince Lhewelin ap Jorwerth. In the year 1270, Lhewelin ap Gruffyth ap Jorwerth, the laſt Prince of North Wales, took the Caſtle of Caerphilly. This is the firſt time it is called by the name of Caerphilly in the Welſh Hiſtory. It was in earlier times denominated from the founder of the monaſtery, on the ſite of which, after its demolition, the caſtle was rebuilt. This is alſo the laſt time it is mentioned at all in the Continuation of Caradoc, from which theſe particulars are taken. But there is a more correct, and an ampler continuation of Caradoc extant, which is not at preſent put to the preſs. It is ſtrongly ſuſpected, that there are ſome conſiderable errors, or at leaſt deficiencies, in all the copies hitherto publiſhed.

"It is not diſtinctly aſcertained, into what hands Caerphilly Caſtle paſſed after the period of Lhewelin's capture. There may probably be ſome notice, diſperſed in genealogical manuſcripts: but it is difficult to collect thoſe ſhort anecdotes, faintly and imperfectly recorded here and there, in a maſs of confuſed materials. In the time of Edward the Firſt, it was undoubtedly in the poſſeſſion of Gibert de Clare, lord, or prince, as he is ſometimes termed, of Glamorgan, who purchaſed it, but from whom I know not. On his marriage with Joan of Acres, he ſettled this caſtle, and the lands belonging to it, on her and her heirs for ever: but the eſtates belonging to the lordſhip of Glamorgan, with thoſe belonging to his earldoms of Glocester and Hereford, he ſettled on her only for life. After his death, ſhe married, unknown to the king, Ralph de Mortimer, and ſettled Caerphilly Caſtle, with the eſtates belonging to it, on him and his heirs for ever. After her death, Gilbert, ſon of the laſt Earl de Clare, who was only five years old at the time of his father's deceaſe, ſucceeded to the lordſhip or principality of Glamorgan. Mortimer, however, remained poſſeſſed of Caerphilly. This young lord, Gilbert de Clare, was ſlain at the battle of Bannockburn, in the year 1314, leaving no iſſue. His lordſhips of courſe deſcended to his three ſiſters, coheireſſes. One of them, named Eleanor, was married to Hugh Spencer the younger; another, Margaret, to Piers Gavaſtone; and the third, Elizabeth, to John de Bugh.

"Hugh Spencer the younger came to poſſeſs the lordſhip of Glamorgan by this marriage, and by purchaſe or compromiſe from the other coheireſſes. Among other acts of depredation, he ſeized on Caerphilly Caſtle, which is ſaid to have been built in a ſtronger manner than hitherto by Ralph de Mortimer. He likewiſe uſurped the lands belonging to it, and added conſiderably to the ſtrength and magnitude of the Caſtle. He and his father were the great favourites of Edward the Second; and being countenanced by him in all their licentious proceedings, both the father and ſon acted ſo directly in violation of all laws and juſtice, as to excite the indignation and reſentment of the Engliſh barons, as well as the hatred of the nation in general. Their Welſh ſubjects, who made up the petty ſovereignty of Glamorgan, were not backward in expreſſing their deteſtation: and Roger Mortimer, who was heir at law to Caerphilly Caſtle and its eſtates, drew up a regular ſtatement of his caſe, and accompanied it with a petition, complaining of the unjuſt ſeizure, by which his property was converted to the uſe of young

Hugh Spencer. He preſented this memorial to the barons, at a meeting held by them, for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the iniquitous conduct of Hugh Spencer. The barons agreed to furniſh him with an army of ten thouſand men: they placed him at the head of it, and encouraged him to enter Glamorgan, and take poſſeſſion of his eſtates. But the Spencers had ſo ſtrongly fortified and garriſoned the caſtle, and had ſupplied it with ſuch an immenſe ſtore of proviſions, that they held out for a long time. The queen, ſiding with the barons, found means to raiſe a powerful army. King Edward her huſband, on the other hand, was enabled to get into Caerphilly Caſtle. But, after a long ſiege, the caſtle was taken, in conſequence of a breach having been effected by means, which it requires ſome faith to credit on the teſtimony of local tradi ions and manuſcripts. According to ſuch accounts, a battering ram was worked by one thouſand men, and ſuſpended to a frame, compoſed of twenty large oaks. The breach was made in the depth of a dark night, and King Edward eſcaped in the habit of a Welſh peaſant. The more effectually to diſguiſe himſelf, he aſſiſted with great eagerneſs to pile wood on the tremendouſly large fires, that lighted the beſiegers in battering the caſtle. Local authorities aſſert, probably with ſome degree of poetical amplification, that one hundred teams were employed to ſupply wood for thoſe vaſt fires. The Welſh are ſaid to have aſſiſted the beſiegers from all quarters, at a proper opportunity. Edward made his eſcape from every danger, and through the dark and ſtormy night went on, till he came to the pariſh of Llangonoyd, twenty miles weſtward, where he hired himſelf as a cowherd or ſhepherd, at a farm ſtill known by ſo ſingular a circumſtance. After having been there for ſome time, but how long is not preciſely aſcertained, the farmer, finding him but an awkward and ignorant fellow, diſmiſſed him. Such is the colouring of one account: but another ſtory in manuſcript relates, that the farmer knew who he was, and befriended him as long as he could. From Llangonoyd he went to Neath Abbey, whence he iſſued a proclamation, ordering his ſubjects to take the queen, with other particulars, which are to be found in Rymer's Fœdera. The Spencers were taken in their caſtle, where prodigious quantities of ſalt and freſh proviſions were found. Of live cattle, there were lodged within the caſtle walls, two thouſand fat oxen, twelve thouſand cows, twenty-five thouſand calves, thirty thouſand fat ſheep, ſix hundred draught horſes, and a ſufficient number of carts for them; two thouſand fat hogs, of ſalt proviſions two hundred beeves, ſix hundred muttons, one thouſand hogs, two hundred tons of French wine, forty tons of cyder and wine, the produce of their own eſtates, with wheat enough to make bread for two thouſand men for four years. In one of the towers, every apartment was crammed full of ſalt. Under this tower was a furnace for ſmelting iron, hot maſſes of which had been thrown by engines on the beſiegers, who, when they had got poſſeſſion of the caſtle, let out the fuſed iron from the furnace, and threw water upon it. This occaſioned a moſt dreadful exploſion, that rent the tower in two, and deſtroyed the ſalt. What ſtands of the tower at preſent is that which overhangs its baſe. The ſubſequent fate of the two Hugh Spencers, father and ſon, is too well known to need a record on this occaſion. Hugh Spencer the grandſon, however, with his faithful garriſon, found means to deſtroy, very unexpectedly, a conſiderable number of the beſiegers, and leading his men to the breach, was able to prevent others from entering. Preſuming on this ſucceſs, young Spencer ſucceeded in deſtroying his enemies within, and procuring tolerable terms, by which he was permitted to remain in poſſeſſion of the caſtle and his eſtates, together with the lordſhip of Glamorgan. His ſon Thomas Spencer ſucceeded him. The next in the catalogue was a ſecond Thomas Spencer; the laſt, and, if poſſible, the worſt, of this tyrannical and unprincipled family. He, after the acceſſion of King Henry the Fourth, was on his way home, in conſequence of the conſpiracy being betrayed, and the rebels routed at Cirenceſter. He was

met there by a great number of the Welſh, who had been deprived of their properties by him and his anceſtors. Theſe Welſhmen took him out of his bed at Briſtol, and being joined by the populace, beheaded him. He left no male iſſue, and only one daughter, Iſabella, his heireſs, who married Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and in her right lord of Glamorgan. There remained in Glamorganſhire, of illegitimate iſſue, ſeveral families bearing the ſurname of Spencer. The Spencers, lords of Glamorgan, were immenſely wealthy; and hence we may eaſily account for the magnitude of Caerphilly Caſtle.

"This caſtle having been thus roughly handled by the queen and barons in the years 1326 and 1327, there are ſome reaſons for ſuppoſing, that it was never afterwards inhabited by the lords of Glamorgan. For we find that in the year 1400, the famous Owen Glandwr had obtained poſſeſſion of it. A celebrated Welſh bard addreſſes a fine ode to Glandwr, expreſſing himſelf after the following manner, making allowance for the difference of idioms.

"'Bring together a faithful hoſt from the territories of the Dauphin: purſue thy courſe to Roſs and Pembroke, and to the region of Breiddin. Then, a protector like Conſtantine, bring forth thine armies from gigantic Caerphilly, a fortreſs great in its ruins.'

"It is very probable that it had remained in a ſtate of ruin, ever ſince the ſiege of the barons. Still, however, it muſt have been a place of conſiderable ſtrength, or it would not have been occupied by Glandwr, after whoſe time there is but little mention of it to be met with, for more than a whole century. It ſeems to have been a place, where its rapacious lords the Spencers amaſſed every thing they could poſſibly get, by plundering their vaſſals or tenants, and the inhabitants in general. From this circumſtance aroſe the Welſh proverb, It is gone to Caerphilly; ſignifying that a thing is irrecoverably loſt, and uſed on occaſions when an Engliſhman of no very nice ſelection would ſay, It is gone to the devil.

"A diſtinguiſhed Welſh bard of the fourteenth century, David ap Gwylym, has in a ſatirical poem of his the following paſſage, the ſenſe and ſtyle of which may in ſome meaſure be preſerved in Engliſh, uncouth as they appear in our phraſeology:

"'May all curſe, and I will curſe; yes, curſe that fellow, and my curſes will prevail. He of hardened lips;—he with all the courage of exceſſive cold;—he, our enemy;—may he become a dead carcaſe.—his ſoul;—may his dog run away with it, or become poſſeſſed of it, and may his body go to Caerphilly.'

"More paſſages of this nature might be collected from the poets; but theſe are ſufficient to illuſtrate the gloomy ideas which were aſſociated in the minds of the natives, with the ſeat of ſo many horrors and ſuch rapacity.

"Leland, who wrote about the year 1530, mentions Caerphilly Caſtle in his Itinerary, as ſet among marſhes, with ruinous walls of a wonderful thickneſs, and a tower kept up for priſoners.

"In the firſt volume of the Archæologia, publiſhed by the Antiquarian Society, there is a paper by the late Daines Barrington, at that time one of the judges on the circuit of North Wales. In this communication, he offers ſome reaſons for ſuppoſing, that Caerphilly Caſtle was built by Edward the Firſt, on the ground of the probability, that as he had thought it neceſſary to conſtruct the caſtles of Conway and Caernarvon, for the purpoſe of controlling the northern inhabitants of the principality, he might alſo have erected other caſtles in South Wales for the ſame purpoſe; I believe that the reputation of the author, and the ingenious reaſoning of the paper, are generally conſidered as having ſet the queſtion at reſt; for it is attributed to Edward the Firſt, in moſt modern publications, on this authority ſpecifically, without the ſlighteſt hint of ſuſpicion or uncertainty. But I apprehend that a cloſer inquiry into the ſubject would have led that acute and learned antiquary into a train of obſervation, not altogether conſiſtent with his hypotheſis, and have induced him at leaſt to doubt. Glamorgan was one of thoſe petty ſovereignties, called Lordſhips Marchers. Its lords were its ſovereigns. They had their parliaments,

their courts of juſtice, and their other offices executive and juriſprudential, in which they, and not the King of England, were ſupreme. They exerciſed jura regalia, and did not hold of the crown, but per gladium, as their term was. They were generally, for their greater ſafety, in cloſe alliance with the King of England, but not his ſubjects. This diſtinction, however, is to be underſtood in reference to theſe lordſhips only; for with reſpect to their baronies and eſtates in England, they were to all intents and purpoſes ſubjects. King Edward had no juriſdiction at that time in Glamorgan. He could not poſſeſs an acre of land there, but as a ſubject to the lord of the country. It happened, indeed, in ſubſequent ages, that in conſequence of intermarriages, the lordſhip of Glamorgan devolved on the king of England, and he in that caſe granted it to others on ſuch terms as he thought proper, till, in the time of Henry the Seventh, it was united to the crown of England, as were moſt of the other Lordſhips Marchers in the ſame manner: and this aſſumption enabled Henry the Eighth to incorporate the whole of Wales with England Edward the Firſt had united North Wales by conqueſt with the crown of England. He had done the ſame by that part of South Wales, which had been ſubject to the houſe of Dinevowr and its princes: but thoſe moſt powerful of the Lordſhips Marchers, Glamorgan and Pembroke in South Wales, with thoſe of Denbigh and Flint in North Wales, part of the lordſhips belonging to the Earls of Cheſter, that of Shrewſbury, and poſſibly ſome others, continued independent of the crown of England till the time of Henry the Eighth, when the incorporation took place. Theſe circumſtances go to prove, that it could not have been Edward the Firſt who built Caerphilly Caſtle. We have already ſeen from hiſtorical documents, deduced from the Welſh authors, that John de Bruſe built it in 1221; that after it had been taken, and of courſe partly ruined, it had afterwards been rebuilt in greater ſtrengh than it had before poſſeſſed, by Ralph Mortimer: and in proceſs of time was greatly augmented and ſtrengthened by Hugh Spencer the ſon, whoſe wealth appears, by all the accounts we have of him, to have been fully equal to ſuch an undertaking. and it may be ſuppoſed, with ſufficient probability, that it was as great, and very probably greater, than that of Edward the Firſt.

"The preſent appearance of Caerphilly fully accords with the ideas which ancient records inſpire of its ſtrength, magnificence, and extent. The area is entered between two dilapidated towers; and the interior view of this great gateway, between its mighty baſtions, is as ſtriking and perfect as any part of the venerable ſtructure. The circuit of the outer works encloſes a very large tract of ground, though the circumference, great as it is compared with that of fortreſſes in general, ſcarcely renders credible the enormous proviſion, related to have been thrown in by the younger Spencer. The wall of the celebrated leaning tower, though but a fragment, is ſtill between ſeventy and eighty feet high, and of a prodigious thickneſs. It hangs eleven feet and a half out of the perpendicular, and ſeems only to reſt on one part of its ſouth ſide. It appears as if it held together principally by the ſtrength of its cement, which is of a tenacity unknown to the experience of modern maſons. Its ſingularity is beſt obſerved by an interior examination, or from the moat underneath, whence the effect of its apparently falling maſs is indeed ſtupendous. They ſhow the mint cloſe by this intereſting part of the ruin, arched in a curious manner, with two furnaces for melting metal. Theſe furnaces likewiſe dealt out dreadful vengeance on beſiegers, and were the means, according to the moſt plauſible as well as beſt-authenticated accounts, of placing the adjoining tower in that ſingular ſituation, to account for which has given riſe to ſo many conjectures of fancy, and ſo many tales of ſuperſtition. From the mint there is an aſcent to a long gallery, which communicated with the different apartments, and afforded a ready intercourſe between the guards, who occupied the embattled towers. This corridor remains entire for the extent of from ninety to one hundred feet on the ſouth ſide, except where the ſtaircaſes have been deſtroyed, which cir-

cumſtance prevents its being traverſed: but the view from the extremity, along the vaulted paſſage, darkening as it recedes, realizes the awe inſpired by the irrational ſublimity of chivalrous romance. The deſcent of the ſally-port is tremendouſly ſteep. When once the force of the caſtle began to pour down, the alternative reſted between victory and death. The declivity impelled the ſteps of thoſe, whoſe fear might have pauſed on even ground: and there could be no retreat for the foremoſt, while the ranks behind were ruſhing to the conflict. The great hall is large and complete. It exhibits an auguſt example of Gothic grandeur, united with a conſiderable degree of elegance. This room is about ſeventy feet by thirty, and ſeventeen in height. It has large windows, and an ornamented chimney-piece in maſterly and ſcientific proportions, with cluſters of pillars along the ſide walls. The north window of the chapel is not only perfect, but uncommonly light and elegant. The window of what my guide, in the ſpirit of modern refinement, called the drawing-room, is nearly entire. Cloſe by one of the drawbridges is the weſtern entrance of the ruin, with a high Gothic arch in the centre, ſupported by two ponderous towers in a cirular form. This great gateway is grand and perfect, and leads to the ſtupendous ſtructure of the inner court from the weſt, as the gate with the hexagonal towers from the eaſt. The dungeon has all thoſe excellencies of a dungeon, to which the ancient barons knew how to give full effect; darkneſs, damp, and gloom. The interior has not a great deal of ivy; but the outer walls, particularly to the weſt, are venerably clothed. It would be ſuperfluous to enter into a deſcription of the buildings for the garriſon, or the outworks. Suffice it to ſay, that it ſtill exiſts a monument of magnificence, and an intimation of almoſt irrefragable power, in the ancient poſſeſſors of this once important lordſhip. There is from the caſtle court a fine view of Energlin, the ſeat of Mr. Goodrich.

"The trade of Caerphilly is becoming of importance. It was only known as an object of antiquarian curioſity till of late years, when a woollen manufacture was eſtabliſhed. There are now three: and the effect is obſervable in traffic on the roads, and population in the town. There is here one of thoſe very large ſhops, furniſhed with articles of every deſcription, which are eſtabliſhed in particular ſtations of the mountainous country, and by ſupplying the wants of the inhabitants, for many miles round, generally enſure a fortune to the induſtrious and indefatigable adventurer."

Merthyr Tydvil, is a curious place. Take the account of it.

"Merthyr Tydvil derives its name from Tydvil, the daughter of Brecan, Prince of Brecknockſhire. She was the wife of Cyngen, ſon of Cadelh, Prince of the vale royal and part of Powiſe, about the cloſe of the fifth century; and is reckoned among the ancient Britiſh ſaints. She, with ſome of her brothers, was on a viſit to her father, then an old man, when they were beſet by a party of Pagan Saxons and Iriſh Picts, as they are termed in various old manuſcripts. Tydvil, her father Brecan, and her brother Rhun Drun Dremrudd, were murdered. But Nevydd, the ſon of Rhun Dremrudd, a very young man, ſoon raiſed the country by his exertions, and put the infidels to flight. It ſhould ſeem by this anecdote, as well as others that may be found in the Cambrian biography, derived from the ancient manuſcript memorials of the Britiſh ſaints, that Brecan had his reſidence, or what the modern language of princes uſually terms court, at this place. Tydvil having been murdered, or martyred in the manner deſcribed, a church was here dedicated to her in after times, and called the church of Merthyr Tydvil, which ſignifies the Martyr Tydvil, from the Greek word μαρτυρ, a witneſs, excluſively appropriated in eccleſiaſtical language to the deſignation of thoſe who have borne teſtimony by their ſufferings to the truth of their religion.

"Theſe are the few and ſcanty memorials which have hitherto been diſcovered reſpecting the hiſtory of this place in the earlieſt times. But it was in after ages, though inconſiderable in population and political importance, of no contemptible note as a ſort of hot-bed, that contributed

principally to engender, and kept alive for more than a century, thoſe religious diſſenſions, which ſtill ſeparate a larger portion of the inhabitants in Wales, than in any part of England, from the eſtabliſhed church. Indeed it cannot be, but that the zealous and devout, whether capable or not of appreciating controverted creeds or metaphyſical diſtinctions, will form themſelves into diſtinct ſocieties, where the ſcanty proviſion of the clergy, and the neglected ſtate of the churches, ſcarcely admit of that ſeemlineſs and grave impreſſion, ſo neceſſary to the due effect of public worſhip. Almoſt all the excluſively Welſh ſects among the lower orders of the people have in truth degenerated into habits of the moſt pitiable lunacy in their devotion. The various ſubdiviſions of methodiſts, jumpers, and I know not what, who meet in fields and houſes, prove how low fanaticiſm may degrade human reaſon: but the intelligent and enlightened part of the diſſenters, among whom have appeared many luminaries of our learning, are every where reſpectable, and no where more reſpected, than in the eſtimation of moderate and candid churchmen. In this pariſh the firſt diſſenting congregation in Wales was formed about the year 1620, or very ſoon after; and it was while preaching to this ſociety, that Vavaſor Powel, a man celebrated in the annals of nonconformity, was taken up and impriſoned in Cardiff gaol.

"Vavaſor Powel was born in Radnorſhire, and deſcended on his father's ſide from the Powels of Knuckles in that county, an ancient and honourable ſtock; by his mother, from the Vavaſors, a family of high antiquity, that came out of Yorkſhire into Wales, and was related to the principal gentry. He was educated in Jeſus College, Oxford. When he left the univerſity, he became an itinerant preacher in the principality; and the circumſtance of his belonging to the unpopular ſect of baptiſts expoſed him to much perſecution. In 1640, he and his hearers were ſeized under the warrant of a magiſtrate, but very ſhortly diſmiſſed. In 1642, he was driven from Wales, becauſe he objected to preſbyterian ordination. At that time there were but two diſſenting congregations in Wales, of which this at Merthyr Tydvil was one. In 1646, he returned to the exerciſe of his profeſſion with ample teſtimonials: and ſuch was his indefatigable activity, that before the Reſtoration there were more than twenty baptiſt ſocieties, chiefly formed under his ſuperintending care. He was one of the commiſſioners for ſequeſtrations. The uſual fate of bold integrity awaited him; that of becoming obnoxious in turn to all parties. As an advocate of republican principles, but not for their proſtitution to the mockery of freedom, he preached againſt the protectorſhip, and wrote ſome ſpirited letters of remonſtrance to Cromwell. For this he was impriſoned. He was known to be a fifth monarchy man: at the Reſtoration, therefore, he underwent a ſeries of perſecutions at Shrewſbury, in Wales, and laſtly in the Fleet priſon, which ended only with his death. He was permitted to return to Merthyr Tydvil, after his impriſonment at Portſmouth as well as at Shrewſbury: but as he perſiſted in exerciſing his functions, he was committed to Cardiff Caſtle, and afterwards ſent to London, where he expired in the Fleet, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

"But it was not to the bloody memory of its martyrs, whether ancient or modern, that Merthyr Tydvil was to owe its rank in the hiſtoric page; for it continued a very inconſiderable village till about the year 1755, when the late Mr. Bacon took more notice of the iron and coal mines, with which this tract of country abounds, than they had before excited. For the very low rent of two hundred pounds per annum, he obtained a leaſe of a diſtrict, at leaſt eight miles long and four wide, for ninety-nine years. It is to be underſtood, however, that his right extended only to the iron and coal mines found on the eſtate, and that he had comparatively a very ſmall portion of the ſoil on the ſurface, on which he erected his works for ſmelting and forging the iron. He poſſeſſed in addition ſome fields for the keep of his horſes, and other neceſſary conveniencies. He at firſt conſtructed one furnace; and little beſides this was done, probably for at leaſt ten years. The next advance

was the erection of a forge for working pig into bar iron. About the beginning of the American war, Mr. Bacon contracted with government for casting cannon. Proper founderies were erected for this purpose; and a good turnpike road was made down to the port of Cardiff, along an extent of twenty-six miles. At Cardiff likewise a proper wharf was formed, still called the cannon wharf, whence the cannon were shipped off to Plymouth, Portsmouth, and wherever the service required. These were carried down in waggons to Cardiff, at a prodigious expence of carriages, horses, and roads. There are those who do not hesitate to assert, but I know not with what truth, that sixteen horses were sometimes employed to draw the waggon that contained only one cannon. It is likewise said, that the roads were so torn by these heavy waggons and the weight of their loads, that it was a month's work for one man to repair the turnpike after every deportation of cannon. I had no opportunity of inquiring properly and minutely into the truth of these relations; but I cannot help suspecting them to be matter of fact in the main, hyperbolically aggravated, though I derive the account from very respectable sources of informaton.

"This contract is supposed to have been immensely lucrative to Mr. Bacon; but he was obliged to relinquish it about the close of the American war, or rather to transfer it to the Caron Company of Scotland, as I have been informed; where most, perhaps all, of the cannon are now cast. He made this disposal, that he might be enabled to hold a seat in parliament, to which he had been elected. Soon afterwards, about the year 1783, he granted leases, I believe for thirty years, but I cannot answer for my own accuracy on this point, of his remaining term, in the following parcels: Cyfarthfa works, the largest portion, to Mr. Crawshay, for five thousand pounds per annum; Penderyn to Mr. Homfray, at two thousand pounds per annum; Dowlas Iron Works to Messrs. Lewis and Tate, and a fourth part to Mr. Hill. What the rents of these two portions are, I have not learned from any direct intelligence; but I conclude them to amount in the whole to three thousand pounds, because it is very generally asserted and believed, that the heirs of Mr. Bacon have from all those works a clear annual income of ten thousand pounds. Mr. Crawshay's iron works of Cyfarthfa are now by far the largest in this kingdom, probably, indeed, the largest in Europe; and in that case, as far as we know, the largest in the world. He employs constantly upwards of two thousand men; and pays weekly in wages and other expences of the works, twenty-five thousand pounds. He makes upon an average between sixty and seventy tons of iron every week; and has lately erected two additional furnaces, which will soon begin to work; when he will be able to make, one week with the other, one hundred tons of bar iron. Mr. Homfray makes weekly, on a moderate average, fifty tons of bar iron and upwards, and is now extending Penderyn and its buildings, which will soon be completed. He will then make at least eighty tons per week. Dowlas Iron Works, belonging to Messrs. Lewis and Tate, are on as large a scale as those of Penderyn, and about to be augmented in an equal proportion. Those of Mr. Hill make now thirty tons of iron weekly, and upwards. Additional buildings are now erecting, which when finished will make at least forty tons per week. At present more than two hundred tons of iron are sent down the canal weekly to the port of Cardiff, whence it is shipped off to Bristol, London, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and other places, and a considerable quantity to America. It is supposed that in the course of a year or two they will be able to send out three hundred tons weekly. The number of smelting furnaces at Merthyr Tydvil is about sixteen. Six of these belong to Cyfarthfa Works; the rest to the other gentlemen who have been named. Around each of these furnaces are erected forges and rolling mills for converting pig into plate and bar iron.

"This town, as it may properly be termed, is now by far the largest in the whole principality. Its population, in the year 1802, was found to be upwards of ten thousand; and it is supposed that it amounts at this time, December 1803, though at the

interval of only one year from the date of the numeration, to conſiderably more than eleven thouſand; and this is to be underſtood without including the ſuburb, as we may denominate it correctly enough, of Coed y Cummar, on the Brecknockſhire ſide of the river, the population of which is at leaſt one thouſand. Swanſea, heretofore the largeſt town in Wales, exceeding every other town by at leaſt one thouſand inhabitants, is now nearly, if not quite, doubled by Merthyr Tydvil. It is true, the external appearance of Merthyr Tydvil is not to be compared with that of Swanſea. The houſe of Mr. Homfray at Penderyn is large and elegant, with fine and well-planted gardens, green-houſes, hot-houſes, and all the accommodations befitting the reſidence of a wealthy family: but the ſplendours of Merthyr Tydvil begin and end with this manſion. When the firſt furnaces and forges were erected, there could not exiſt the ſlighteſt glimmering of preſcience, that this little obſcure Welſh village would, in leſs than forty years, grow up to ſuch a magnitude, as to be far more populous than any other town in Wales. The firſt houſes that were built were very ſmall and only ſimple cottages for furnace-men, forge-men, miners, and ſuch tradeſmen as were neceſſary to conſtruct the required buildings, with the common labourers who were employed to aſſiſt them. Theſe cottages were moſt of them built in ſcattered confuſion, without any order or plan. As the works increaſed, more cottages were wanted, and erected in the ſpaces between thoſe that had been previouſly built, till they became ſo connected with each other, as to form a certain deſcription of irregular ſtreets, very much on the plan of Crooked Lane in the city of London. Theſe ſtreets are now many in number, cloſe and confined, having no proper outlets behind the houſes. They are conſequently very filthy for the moſt part, and doubtleſs very unhealthy. Some ſtreets, it is to be obſerved, have within theſe few years been built, and more are building, on a better plan; in ſtraighter lines, and wider, having decent houſes, with commodious outlets, and other neceſſary attentions to cleanlineſs and health. In ſome of the early, and rudely-connected ſtreets, we frequently ſee the ſmall, miſerable houſes taken down, and larger and very ſeemly ones built in their ſtead. Such improvements are increaſing with ſome degree of rapidity. Shopkeepers, innkeepers, forgemen, ſome of them at leaſt, and in no inconſiderable numbers, are making comfortable fortunes, and conſequently improving their dwellings. Mr. Crawſhay, however, is more conſpicuouſly qualified to ſet them an example of induſtry than elegance. His houſe is ſurrounded with fire, flame, ſmoke, and aſhes. The noiſe of hammers, rolling mills, forges, and bellows, inceſſantly din and craſh upon the ear. Bars and pigs of iron are continually thrown to the hugely accumulating heaps that threaten to choke up every avenue of acceſs. It is more humourouſly than truly ſaid in the neighbourhood, that ſuch ſcenery is moſt congenial to the taſte, ſuch ſounds moſt lulling to the repoſe of the owner. The fact, however, is, that the ſituation of the maſter's dwelling was fixed long before Mr. Crawſhay came to it: and when it is conſidered how conveniently it lies for the ſuperintendence of the buſineſs, few men, brought up in the habits of commercial prudence, would conſult agreeable proſpects and domeſtic elegance, at the expence of that beſt ſecurity, the everlaſting eye of a principal. The machinery of this eſtabliſhment is gigantic; and that part of it, worked by water, among the moſt ſcientifically curious and mechanically powerful to which modern improvements has given birth. Watkin George and William are the two principal engineers, and natives of this country.

"Such is the architectural character of Merthyr Tydvil; a place that never had a premeditated plan on which to be built, but grew up by accident, and on the ſpur of variouſly occurring neceſſities. Such obviouſly has been the caſe, unfortunately for convenience and the arts, with many of our greateſt cities. It is evident that they conſiſted originally of cottages, communicating with each other in very confuſed directions. The firſt inhabitants little dreamt that the rude village would ever grow up to be a populous town, perhaps the metropolis of a mighty empire; for to ſuch an

origin may London itſelf be with every probability aſcribed. Had Sir Chriſtopher Wren's plan been adopted after the fire, we ſhould have indeed poſſeſſed a capital, commenſurate with our political rank and commercial greatneſs; but the early reinſtatement of the ſufferers was too imperiouſly demanded, to admit of the delay, which ſo expenſive a reformation muſt have occaſioned.

"The workmen of all deſcriptions at theſe immenſe iron works are Welſhmen. The language is almoſt entirely Welſh. The number of Engliſhmen among them is very inconſiderable. But the ill effects, which large collections of the lower claſſes produce upon the ſtate of manners, are here very obſervable, though by no means to ſo great an extent, as in the manufacturing towns of England. The ſimplicity, ſincerity, and diſintereſtedneſs, of the peaſant is loſt in the mercenary cunning or extortion of the mechanic. But a few miles off, you can ſcarcely prevail with the ruſtic to accept your gratuity, though he has loſt half his day's work by directing you over the mountains: here, you are beſet with the demands of the importunate hordes upon your purſe, though the only favour you requeſt at their hands, is to view the objects of your curioſity without their intruſion. The people come together at this place from the interior and mountainous parts of Wales; and for that reaſon there is leſs Engliſh to be heard here in common converſation, than in any other conſiderable town of the principality. The men employed at theſe works are too much addicted to drinking; but in other reſpects no great immoralities are to be found among them; far leſs indeed than might have been expected, from the tide of diſſoluteneſs which is uſually found to flow in upon a place, from the rapid increaſe of vulgar population. The principal check to immorality ariſes from the iron-maſters, as the proprietors are called, being magiſtrates of the county. Mr. Maber, the clergyman of the pariſh, is alſo a magiſtrate; and the high reſpectability of his character renders him a moſt valuable acquiſition, where the united influence of example and authority are required, to preſerve peace and decorum. Theſe magiſtrates appoint a proper number of conſtables. The whole ſyſtem, and the proceedings attendant on its operation, are all ſubjected to the quarter and great ſeſſions of the county; and conſequently more energetic and effectual than a police veſted in the courts and magiſtrates of corporations; an additional illuſtration to the more prominent inſtances of Mancheſter, Birmingham, and other unfranchiſed towns, that the laws and law courts of the country at large are better calculated to preſerve good order, than the powers uſually veſted in corporate bodies, and are at the ſame time much leſs oppreſſive to the community in general.

"There is a printing-office here, and a bookſeller who communicates with London every week. It cannot be expected that literature ſhould have been much cultivated, or the arts of elegance and civilization have been held in much price, in a town which owes its exiſtence to rough and unpoliſhed induſtry. Yet literary improvement has begun to put out ſome buds of early promiſe, and we have only to hope, that they may be brought forward to that ſtate of ripeneſs and utility, which ſcience has attained in many other places, originating in ſimilar cauſes, and bleſſed with ſimilar proſperity. There are many of the inhabitants who apply themſelves to the ſtudy of mineralogy, chemiſtry, and other branches of natural knowledge, in a regular train of ſcientific initiation. Indeed, the nature of the place leads them to ſuch inveſtigations. There are ſeveral book ſocieties at Merthyr Tydvil, and a philoſophical ſociety is in its infancy. The pariſh church is well attended, and it has been furniſhed with an organ of late years. It is rather large, but not ſufficiently ſo for the place; in conſequence of which a ſpacious and elegant chapel of eaſe is now erecting, and nearly finiſhed. This is an octagon building, to be furniſhed alſo with its organ. There are about ten diſſenting and methodiſt meeting-houſes; and their denominations are thus divided; three baptiſts, two preſbyterians, two independents, two in the connection of Weſley, and one, if not two, in that of Whitfield. A theatre has lately been erected at Merthyr Tydvil,

where an itinerant company of actors, by no means of the loweſt deſcription, perform at ſtated times.

"A very good canal, of which ſome incidental notice has before been taken, is made from Merthyr Tydvil to Cardiff. It was begun about twelve years ago, and completed in June 1798. From the tide-lock, where it enters Pennarth Harbour, up to the town of Cardiff, it is navigable, as was before mentioned, for ſhips of four hundred tons; but from Cardiff to Merthyr Tydvil it is navigable for barges of one hundred tons. The head of this canal at Merthyr Tydvil Bridge is five hundred and ſixty-eight feet five inches higher than the tide-lock two miles below Cardiff, where it falls into Pennarth Harbour. This canal has upwards of forty locks on it in the ſpace of twenty-ſix miles, which is its whole length; and it is croſſed by more than forty bridges.

"Merthyr Tydvil has three market places, that are well ſupplied twice every week, on Wedneſdays and Saturdays. It has ſeveral fairs in the year; and in the ſame pariſh, on the top of a mountain about two miles out of town, there is a very ancient market-place, with a large public houſe and a cottage or two. Here weekly markets have been held for at leaſt eight hundred years, during the ſummer ſeaſon, from the 14th of May till the 14th of October. This ſingular market is in its ſeaſon frequented by great numbers. There are alſo ſeveral large fairs for cattle chiefly held here.

"The neighbourhood of Merthyr Tydvil abounds with excellent coal, iron ore, very good mill-ſtones, and limeſtone rocks, in which are found beds of black marble, equal to that of Derbyſhire. They afford marble of various other colours, ſome variegated like the Broccatello in the ſouth of France. In this country, impregnated with iron, chalybeate ſprings abound. Excellent flag ſtones for paving, and a very good kind of ſlate for covering roofs, are plentifully found in this neighbourhood, and indeed throughout the mountainous diſtrict of Glamorgan. While I am on this ſubject, it will not be impertinent to obſerve, that though the French are, generally ſpeaking, infinitely behind us in all the uſeful arts of life, they have a manifeſt ſuperiority in their mode of tiling and ſlating their houſes. The roof of a houſe in Paris is as ſymmetrical a part of the building, as the elegant ſtone front; nor is the one diſcernible from the other but by a near and curious examination: but our clumſy and inartificial roofs either diſfigure the architecture moſt unmercifully, or are concealed by the unworkmanlike device of a parapet, which contributes neither utility nor ornament, beyond the negative apology of covering a defect."

A *ſingular character* occurs in the following extract.

"On deſcending from theſe preſent haunts of mountain ſheep, and ancient ſeats of unſociable and diſtruſtful barons, the traveller arrives ſuddenly at a ſpot, the moſt incongruous and unexpected that can be conceived in theſe ſimple regions. He finds himſelf tranſlated all at once to the Paragon, Proſpect Place, Paradiſe Row, Mount Pleaſant, or ſome ſuch ſupreme court of finery, foppery, and folly, as occurs within a circle of five miles round London: a ſpace which comprehends moſt of the architectural abſurdities, and moſt of the horticultural deformities, to which a vitiated imagination has ever given birth. Yet does Trevecca ſeem, by combination, to have outdone them all. Here a Gothic arch! there a Corinthian capital! Towers, battlements, and baſtions! peacocks cut in box, and lions hacked in holly! And who is it that has thus deluged his native country with bad taſte? Is it a nabob, an innkeeper, or a dancing-maſter, who, having contrived to raiſe a fortune by one of thoſe trades, which often proſper where better fail, prudently determines to record the event, and raiſe a triumphal monument on the ſite of his honeſt father's humble cottage? Nay, verily: it is a preacher of the goſpel, profeſſedly of the ſtricteſt perſuaſion and moſt mortified habits. Howel Harris was born at Trevecca on the 23d of January, 1714. Having a reſpectable paternal eſtate in reverſion, he was deſigned by his family for the church, and having received the rudiments of a claſſical education, was entered at St. Mary's Hall in Oxford; but he did not pur-

ſue or perfect thoſe ſtudies at the univerſity, which might have given him rank and character among its members. When he was about the age of twenty-five, he began his career as an itinerant preacher, ſacrificing all views of worldly aggrandizement to what he conceived to be his higheſt duty. But a total want of rationality in the purſuit miſerably detracted from that approbation, which muſt otherwiſe have been extorted even from his opponents by the unqueſtionable reſpectability of the motive. He was the friend of Whitefield, with whom he afterwards quarrelled, and the firſt importer of the methodiſtical tenets and diſcipline into the principality, as Vavaſor Powel had been among the firſt, to introduce the earlier and more reſpected modes of diſſent. He actually officiated in the fields; but, after having undergone much perſecution, and incurred ſome danger in his travels, he determined, being, as my landlady at Talgarth informed me, a man of deep religion, to eſtabliſh a religious family at Trevecca, adopting it as his own, and devoting to it his patrimonial eſtates, with all the ſavings of a parſimonious life. With unaccountable inconſiſtency, he built a large and coſtly houſe, and laid out the grounds in the ſtyle I have before deſcribed. In this houſe, and on his own eſtate, he collected a number of families, profeſſing the ſame religious abſorption of mind. He even purchaſed farms in the neighbourhood, and eſtabliſhed manufactories, to as great an extent as his finances would admit, or opportunities preſented themſelves of laying out his money. The condition he impoſed on thoſe who joined his community was, that they ſhould purſue their avocations of huſbandry or trade ſolely for the benefit of the common ſtock, diſclaiming all private property, or interference in the management of the joint capital, renouncing the ſociety of ſtrangers, and adhering punctually to the rigid obſervances of the family. The inſtitution continued to flouriſh during his lifetime in almoſt a formidable degree. Their farms entirely ſupplied their numerous families diſpered over the eſtates, for the manſion-houſe was occupied by his own family and cloſer intimates. There was beſides a large ſurplus for the markets; ſince their inflexible ſobriety was conſidered to have the effect of making them good farmers, though the buſineſs was much interrupted by their unremitting prayers. They alſo manufactured, independent of other articles, large quantities of fine flannels, the quality of which was in high requeſt all round the country, and large orders were executed for ſo diſtant a market as Briſtol. Mr. Harris died in July, 1773. I have not been ſtrictly correct in ſtating the produce of their labours as brought to a common ſtock, for it was all made over to him without controul, though excluſively and conſcientiouſly applied to their uſe and the extenſion of the eſtabliſhment. By his will, he bequeathed the whole of his poſſeſſions, hereditary and accumulated, to the maintenance of the family for ever on the ſtrict principles of its foundation. He left two truſtees, with regulations for the replacing them, who were to live in the houſe, receive the earnings of the people, conduct the pecuniary arrangements and devotional ſervices, and in every reſpect exerciſe that plenary authority, which he had himſelf preſerved. He was married, and had a daughter, to whom he left nothing, except an apartment in the houſe, on the ſame terms as the others, if ever ſhe choſe to become a member of the family. It is, however, to be obſerved, in extenuation of what men of leſs deep religion will conſider as injuſtice towards a deſerving child, that her mother's fortune, not inconſiderable, rendered Miſs Harris independent of her father. But this independence, and all worldly cares and poſſeſſions, ſhe was to relinquiſh, if ever ſhe came to Trevecca. It will readily be anticipated, that ſhe did not make that election, when the reader is informed that ſhe was married to a gentleman of Brecknock, of the name of Prichard, I believe before Mr. Harris's death.

"There have been, within the recollection of perſons reſiding at Talgarth, one hundred and forty efficient members of this extraordinary family, beſides children; there are now not more than ſixty; but the ſtrict ritual of the place is ſtill preſerved; the character of induſtrious ſecluſion and eccentric fanaticiſm is ſeduloufly maintained; and the viſitor of Tre-

vecca may ſee it now, as in the days of the founder. There is ſervice in the houſe three times a day all the year round, the time of harveſt not excepted: each perſon is allowed a certain proportion of abſences, on the ſame plan as the attendance of chapel is regulated for the ſtudents in college, and if the number is exceeded, the offender loſes the benefit of the inſtitution, however reaſonable may be his excuſe, or urgent the plea of his neceſſity. The ſervice, though ſo frequent, is very long; and a numerous attendance is by theſe regulations conſtantly ſecured. It were much to be wiſhed, that it were better worth attending! I happened to arrive there, without any previous knowledge of the place or inſtitution, about three o'clock on a Sunday, when a number of decently-dreſſed and well behaved people were aſſembling, with whoſe manners on the outſide of their chapel I was well pleaſed; but the inſide exhibited ſuch a melancholy exhibition of fanatical fatuity, as, happily for the honour of human intellect, is rarely to be met, but among theſe jumping enthuſiaſts. The ſpeaker, for I will not inſult the dignity of our eſtabliſhment by conſidering him as a clergyman, had his face and head completely muffled with a red pocket-handkerchief tied under his chin. The cauſe of this might have been candidly aſcribed to the tooth-ache, had I not obſerved at Brecknock and elſewhere, that the preachers of theſe degradedly methodiſtical and jumping ſects, which would not be worth noticing in a work of this kind, were they not the unhappy growth of the ſoil, uniformly array themſelves in a ſimilar paraphernalia, probably in an oſtentatious ſhew of ſqualid piety. The reſt of his apparel was conſiſtently mean; and all his air and manner indicated the loweſt ignorance, though I could not judge of his language. Its effects, however, atoned in power for what it might want in elegance, or the means of rational conviction. The groans of his hearers, ſometimes in a ſolo part, and ſometimes in chorus, correſponded with the ſcarcely human contortions and ejaculations of the preacher. Some ſtood, ſome knelt, and ſome were ſtretched upon the floor in proſtrate humiliation. I did not, however, ſtay for the animating ſound of "Glory to the Lamb," leſt the forgetfulneſs of ſuperſtitious enthuſiaſm, violating the laws of hoſpitality, might have compelled me alſo to join in the fantaſtic rites of light-heeled devotion. But I will no longer weary the patience of my reader on the habits of an inſtitution, which has culled with ſcrupulous care all the abſurdities and evils of the monaſtic life, except the prohibition of marriage, and at the ſame time paſſed a ſevere edict of excluſion againſt all its learning and utility. Mr. Harris had a brother, who made a conſiderable fortune as an army taylor in London, which was, I believe, inherited by Mrs. Hughes, his niece, who has a very handſome manſion near Trevecca. The family are very much reſpected; and it is moſt unaccountable, that the zeal of a man, placed by birth and education in the moſt reſpectable claſs of ſociety, ſhould have degenerated into ſuch unmeaning and irrational mummery. It is true, indeed, that the ſenatorial names of Wilberforce and Hill have graced the drivellings of pretended inſpiration; but they have not condeſcended to countenance any thing quite ſo repugnant to common ſenſe, or ſo irreconcileable with the claſſical taſte and elegant attainments of a gentleman. Since my return, I have heard accounts of Mr. Harris, not ſo favourable to the diſintereſted abſurdity of his character and views. I know the imputations under which leaders of ſects and parties labour from the miſconſtructions of their opponents, and pretend not to decide. It is certain that he extorted large ſums from the deluded people among whom he travelled, as well as from the labours of his domeſtic fraternity. Theſe went in aid of the eſtabliſhment at Trevecca. The frugality and ſelf denial of his habits is alſo controverted; and his taſte in building, which ſpeaks for itſelf, corroborates in ſome meaſure the ſuſpicion. His doctrine throughout the principality was, that thoſe who came with his credentials were ſent of God, and if they wanted a coat, a dinner, or a horſe, the beſt in the poſſeſſion of the believer was reſpectively to be furniſhed. But we are here at the very head-quarters of methodiſm, the capital of its empire in the principality. At Treduſtan, cloſe

by Trevecca, is a college founded by Lady Huntingdon, for educating young men, to continue the ſucceſſion of the miniſtry. But it is at preſent untenanted by pupils, though there is occaſional ſervice there: I ſhall therefore gladly diſmiſs it, without inquiring into the nature of its ordinances, which probably coincide with thoſe eſtabliſhed elſewhere by the zealous patroneſs."

Other Extracts we muſt defer till another opportunity.

LXI. LETTERS *of* WILLIAM COWPER, Eſq. *being the third volume of the Life and Writings of* WILLIAM COWPER, Eſq. 400 *pages, Quarto, 1l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

WE ſhall now fulfil our promiſe of giving more Extracts from this truly pleaſing Work.

Letter XLVIII. reſpects *Prior* the Poet.

"To the Rev. WILLIAM UNWIN.

"January 17, 1782.

"My dear William,

"I am glad we agree in our opinion of king critic, and the writers on whom he has beſtowed his animadverſions. It is a matter of indifference to me whether I think with the world at large or not, but I wiſh my friends to be of my mind. The ſame work will wear a different appearance in the eyes of the ſame man, according to the different views with which he reads it; if merely for his amuſement, his candour being in leſs danger of a twiſt from intereſt or prejudice, he is pleaſed with what is really pleaſing, and is not over curious to diſcover a blemiſh, becauſe the exerciſe of a minute exactneſs is not conſiſtent with his purpoſe. But if he once becomes a critic by trade, the caſe is altered. He muſt then, at any rate, eſtabliſh, if he can, an opinion in every mind, of his uncommon diſcernment, and his exquiſite taſte. This great end he can never accompliſh by thinking in the tract that has been beaten, under the hoof of public judgment. He muſt endeavour to convince the world, that their favourite authors have more faults than they are aware of, and ſuch as they have never ſuſpected. Having marked out a writer univerſally eſteemed, whom he finds it for that very reaſon, convenient to depreciate and traduce, he will overlook ſome of his beauties, he will faintly praiſe others, and in ſuch a manner as to make thouſands, more modeſt, though quite as judicious as himſelf, queſtion whether they are beauties at all. Can there be a ſtronger illuſtration of all that I have ſaid, than the ſeverity of Johnſon's remarks upon Prior, I might have ſaid the injuſtice? His reputation as an author, who, with much labour indeed, but with admirable ſucceſs, has embelliſhed all his poems with the moſt charming eaſe, ſtood unſhaken until Johnſon thruſt his head againſt it. And how does he attack him in this his principal fort? I cannot recollect his very words, but I am much miſtaken, indeed if my memory fails me with reſpect to the purport of them. "His words (he ſays) appear to be forced into their proper places; There indeed we find them, but find likewiſe, that their arrangement has been the effect of conſtraint, and that without violence, they would certainly have ſtood in a different order." By your leave, Mr. moſt learned Doctor, this is the moſt diſingenuous remark I ever met with, and would have come with a better grace from Curl or Dennis. Every man converſant with verſe-writing, knows, and knows by painful experience, that the familiar ſtile, is of all ſtiles the moſt difficult to ſucceed in. To make verſe ſpeak the language of proſe, without being proſaic, to marſhal the words of it in ſuch an order, as they might naturally take in falling from the lips of an extemporary ſpeaker, yet without meanneſs; harmoniouſly, elegantly, and without ſeeming to diſplace a ſyllable for the ſake of the rhyme, is one of the moſt arduous taſks a poet can undertake. He that could accompliſh this taſk was Prior; many have imitated his excellence in this particular, but the beſt copies have fallen far ſhort of the original. And now to tell us, after we and our fathers have admired him for it ſo long, that he is an eaſy writer indeed, but that his eaſe has an air of ſtiffneſs in it, in ſhort that his eaſe is not eaſe, but only ſomething like it, what is it but a ſelf-contradiction, an obſervation that grants what it is juſt going to deny, and denies what it has juſt granted, in the ſame ſentence, and in the ſame breath?—But I have filled the greateſt part of my ſheet with

a very unintereſting ſubject. I will only ſay, that as a nation, we are not much indebted, in point of poetical credit, to this too ſagacious and unmerciful judge; and that for myſelf in particular, I have reaſon to rejoice that he entered upon, and exhauſted the labours of his office before my poor volume could poſſibly become an object of them. By the way, you cannot have a book at the time you mention, I have lived a fortnight or more in expectation of the laſt ſheet, which is not yet arrived.

"You have already furniſhed John's memory with by far the greateſt part of what a parent would wiſh to ſtore it with. If all that is merely trivial, and all that has an immoral tendency were expunged from our Engliſh Poets, how would they ſhrink, and how would ſome of them completely vaniſh. I believe there are ſome of Dryden's Fables which he would find very entertaining; they are for the moſt part fine compoſitions, and not above his apprehenſion; but Dryden has written few things that are not blotted here and there with an unchaſte alluſion, ſo that you muſt pick his way for him, leſt he ſhould tread in the dirt. You did not mention Milton's Allegro and Penſeroſo, which I remember being ſo charmed with when I was a boy, that I was never weary of them. There are even paſſages in the paradiſiacal part of the Paradise Loſt, which he might ſtudy with advantage. And to teach him, as you can, to deliver ſome of the fine orations made in the Pandæmonium, and thoſe between Satan, Ithuriel, and Zephon, with emphaſis, dignity, and propriety, might be of great uſe to him hereafter. The ſooner the ear is formed, and the organs of ſpeech are accuſtomed to the various inflections of the voice, which the rehearſal of thoſe paſſages demands, the better. I ſhould think too, that Thomſon's Seaſons might afford him ſome uſeful leſſons. At leaſt they would have a tendency to give his mind an obſerving, and a philoſophical turn. I do not forget that he is but a child, but I remember that he is a child favoured with talents ſuperior to his years. We were much pleaſed with his remarks on your alms-giving, and doubt not but it will be verified with reſpect to the two guineas you ſent us, which have made four Chriſtian people happy. Ships I have none, nor have touched a pencil theſe three years, if ever I take it up again, which I rather ſuſpect I ſhall not, (the employment requiring ſtronger eyes than mine) it ſhall be at John's ſervice.

"Yours, my dear friend,

"W. C."

Letter LVI. ſhews Mr. Cowper's opinion of the Nation at the cloſe of the American War.

"To the Rev. WILLIAM UNWIN.

"March 7, 1782.

"My dear friend,

"We have great pleaſure in the contemplation of your Northern journey, as it promiſes us a ſight of you and yours by the way, and are only ſorry Miſs Shuttleworth cannot be of the party. A line to aſcertain the hour, when we may expect you, by the next preceding poſt will be welcome.

"It is not much for my advantage, that the printer delays ſo long to gratify your expectation. It is a ſtate of mind that is apt to tire and diſconcert us; and there are but few pleaſures that make us amends for the pain of repeated diſappointment. I take it for granted you have not received the volume, not having received it myſelf, nor indeed heard from Johnſon, ſince he fixed the firſt of the month for its publication.

"What a medley are our public prints, half the page filled with the ruin of the country, and the other half filled with the vices and pleaſures of it—here an iſland taken and there a new comedy—here an empire loſt, and there an Italian opera, or a Lord's rout on a Sunday.

'May it pleaſe your Lordſhip! I am an Engliſhman, and muſt ſtand or fall with the nation. Religion, its true palladium, has been ſtolen away; and it is crumbling into duſt. Sin ruins us, the ſins of the great eſpecially, and of their ſins eſpecially the violation of the ſabbath, becauſe it is naturally productive of all the reſt. If you wiſh well to our arms, and would be glad to ſee the kingdom emerging again from her ruins, pay more reſpect to an ordinance that deſerves the deepeſt! I do not ſay pardon this ſhort remonſtrance!—The concern I feel for my country, and

the intereſt I have in its proſperity, gave me a right to make it. I am, &c.'

"Thus one might write to his Lordſhip, and (I ſuppoſe) might be as profitably employed in whiſtling the tune of an old ballad.

"I have no copy of the preface, nor do I know at preſent, how Johnſon and Mr. Newton have ſettled it. In the matter of it there was nothing offenſively peculiar. But it was thought too pious.

"Yours, my dear friend,

"W. C."

Letter LXII. contains ſomething entertaining about *reviews*.

"To the Rev. WILLIAM UNWIN.

"June 12, 1782.

"My dear friend,

"Every extraordinary occurrence in our lives, affords us an opportunity to learn, if we will, ſomething more of our own hearts, and tempers, than we were before aware of. It is eaſy to promiſe ourſelves before hand, that our conduct ſhall be wiſe or moderate, or reſolute, on any given occaſion. But when that occaſion occurs, we do not always find it eaſy to make good the promiſe: ſuch a difference there is between theory and practice. Perhaps this is no new remark; but it is not a whit the worſe for being old if it be true.

"Before I had publiſhed, I ſaid to myſelf—you and I, Mr. Cowper, will not concern ourſelves much about what the critics may ſay of our book. But having once ſent my wits for a venture, I ſoon became anxious about the iſſue, and found that I could not be ſatisfied with a warm place in my own good graces, unleſs my friends were pleaſed with me as much as I pleaſed myſelf. Meeting with their approbation, I began to feel the workings of ambition. It is well (ſaid I) that my friends are pleaſed, but friends are ſometimes partial, and mine, I have reaſon to think, are not altogether free from bias. Methinks I ſhould like to hear a ſtranger or two ſpeak well of me. I was preſently gratified by the approbation of the London Magazine, and the Gentleman's, particularly by that of the former, and by the plaudit of Dr. Franklin. By the way, magazines are publications we have but little reſpect for, 'till we ourſelves are chronicled in them, and then they aſſume an importance in our eſteem, which before we could not allow them. But the Monthly Review, the moſt formidable of all my judges is ſtill behind. What will that critical Rhadamanthus ſay, when my ſhivering genius ſhall appear before him? Still he keeps me in hot water, and I muſt wait another month for his award. Alas! When I wiſh for a favourable ſentence from that quarter (to confeſs a weakneſs that I ſhould not confeſs to all) I feel myſelf not a little influenced by a tender regard to my reputation here, even among my neighbours at Olney. Here are watch-makers, who themſelves are wits, and who, at preſent, perhaps think me one. Here is a carpenter, and a baker, and not to mention others, here is your idol Mr. ———, whoſe ſmile is fame. All theſe read the Monthly Review, and all theſe will ſet me down for a dunce, if thoſe terrible critics ſhow them the example. But oh! wherever elſe I am accounted dull, dear Mr. Griffiths, let me paſs for a genius at Olney!

"We are ſorry for little William's illneſs. It is however the privilege of infancy to recover almoſt immediately, what it has loſt by ſickneſs. We are ſorry too for Mr. ———'s dangerous condition. But he that is well prepared for the great journey, cannot enter on it too ſoon for himſelf, though his friends will weep at his departure.

"Yours,

"W. C."

Letter LXXIX. ſhews the *Poet's ſimplicity*.

"To the Rev. WILLIAM UNWIN.

"Auguſt 4, 1783.

"My dear William, I feel myſelf ſenſibly obliged by the intereſt you take in the ſucceſs of my productions. Your feelings upon the ſubject, are ſuch as I ſhould have myſelf, had I an opportunity of calling Johnſon aſide to make the enquiry you propoſe. But I am pretty well prepared for the worſt, and ſo long as I have the opinion of a few capable judges in my favour, and am thereby convinced, that I have neither diſgraced myſelf nor my ſubject, ſhall not feel myſelf diſpoſed to any extreme anxiety about the ſale. To aim with ſucceſs at the ſpiritual good of mankind, and to become popular by writing on ſcriptural ſubjects,

were an unreaſonable ambition, even for a Poet to entertain, in days like theſe. Verſe may have many charms, but has none powerful enough to conquer the averſion of a diſſipated age to ſuch inſtruction. Aſk the queſtion therefore boldly, and be not mortified, even though he ſhould ſhake his head, and drop his chin; for it is no more than we have reaſon to expect. We will lay the fault upon the vice of the times; and we will acquit the Poet.

"I am glad you were pleaſed with my Latin ode, and indeed with my Engliſh dirge as much as I was myſelf. The tune laid me under a diſadvantage, obliging me to write in Alexandrines; which (I ſuppoſe) would ſuit no ear, but a French one: neither did I intend any thing more than that the ſubject and the words ſhould be ſufficiently accommodated to the muſic. The ballad is a ſpecies of poetry (I believe) peculiar to this country, equally adapted to the drolleſt, and the moſt tragical ſubjects. Simplicity and eaſe are its proper characteriſtics. Our forefathers excelled in it; but we moderns, have loſt the art. It is obſerved, that we have few good Engliſh odes. But to make amends, we have many excellent ballads, not inferior perhaps in true poetical merit to ſome of the very beſt odes. that the Greek or Latin languages have to boaſt of. It is a ſort of compoſition I was ever fond of, and if graver matters had not called me another way, ſhould have addicted myſelf to it more than any other. I inherit a taſte for it from my father, who ſucceeded well in it himſelf, and who lived at a time when the beſt peices in that way were produced. What can be prettier than Gay's ballad, or rather Swift's, Arbuthnot's, Pope's, and Gay's, in the what do ye call it—"'Twas when the ſeas were roaring." I have been well informed, that they all contributed, and that the moſt celebrated aſſociation of clever fellows, this country ever ſaw, did not think it beneath them to unite their ſtrength and abilities in the compoſition of a ſong. The ſucceſs however anſwered their wiſhes. The ballads that Bourne has tranſlated, beautiful in themſelves, are ſtill more beautiful in his verſion of them, infinitely ſurpaſſing in my judgment, all that Ovid or Tibullus have left behind them. They are quite as elegant, and far more touching and pathetic, than the tendereſt ſtrokes of either.

"So much for ballads, and ballad-writers.—"A worthy ſubject" (you will ſay) "for a man, whoſe head might be filled with better things;"—and it is filled with better things, but to ſo ill a purpoſe, that I thruſt into it all manner of topics, that may prove more amuſing; as for inſtance, I have two goldfinches, which in the ſummer occupy the green-houſe. A few days ſince, being employed in cleaning out their cages, I placed that which I had in hand upon the table, while the other hung againſt the wall: the windows and the door ſtood wide open. I went to fill the fountain at the pump, and on my return, was not a little ſurpriſed to find a goldfinch ſitting on the top of the cage I had been cleaning, and ſinging to, and kiſſing the goldfinch within. I approached him; and he diſcovered no fear; ſtill nearer and he diſcovered none. I advanced my hand towards him, and he took no notice of it. I ſeized him, and ſuppoſed I had caught a new bird, but caſting my eye upon the other cage, perceived my miſtake. Its inhabitant, during my abſence, had contrived to find an opening, where the wire had been a little bent, and made no other uſe of the eſcape it afforded him, than to ſalute his friend, and converſe with him more intimately than he had done before. I returned him to his proper manſion, but in vain. In leſs than a minute, he had thruſt his little perſon through the aperture again, and again perched upon his neighbour's cage, kiſſing him, as at the firſt, and ſinging, as if tranſported with the fortunate adventure. I could not but reſpect ſuch friendſhip, as for the ſake of its gratification, had twice declined an opportunity to be free, and, conſenting to their union, reſolved, that for the future, one cage ſhould hold them both. I am glad of ſuch incidents. For at a pinch, and when I need entertainment, the verſification of them ſerves to divert me.

"I tranſcribe for you a piece of Madam Guion, not as the beſt, but as being ſhorter than many, and as good as moſt of them.

"Yours ever,

"W. C."

Letter LXXXII. is amuſing.

"To the Rev. JOHN NEWTON.

"Sept. 23, 1783.

"My Dear Friend,

"We are glad that having been attacked by a fever, which has often proved fatal, and almoſt always leaves the ſufferer debilitated to the laſt degree, you find yourſelf ſo ſoon reſtored to health, and your ſtrength recovered. *Your* health and ſtrength are uſeful to others, and in that view, important in *his* account who diſpenſes both, and by your means a more precious gift than either. For my own part, though I have not been laid up, I have never been perfectly well ſince you left us. A ſmart fever, which laſted indeed but a few hours, ſucceeded by laſſitude and want of ſpirits, that ſeemed ſtill to indicate a feveriſh habit, has made for ſome time, and ſtill makes me very unfit for my favourite occupations, writing and reading—ſo that even a letter, and even a letter to you, is not without its burthen.

"John ——— has had the epidemic, and has it ſtill, but grows better. When he was firſt ſeized with it, he gave notice that he ſhould die, but in this only inſtance of prophetic exertion, he ſeems to have been miſtaken: he has however been very near it. I ſhould have told you, that poor John has been very ready to depart, and much comforted through his whole illneſs. He, you know, though a ſilent, has been a very ſteady profeſſor. He indeed fights battles, and gains victories, but makes no noiſe. Europe is not aſtoniſhed at his feats, foreign academies do not ſeek him for a member, he will never diſcover the art of flying, or ſend a globe of taffata up to heaven. But he will go thither himſelf.

"Since you went, we dined with Mr. ———. I had ſent him notice of our viſit a week before, which like a contemplative, ſtudious man, as he is, he put in his pocket and forgot. When we arrived, the parlour windows were ſhut, and the houſe had the appearance of being uninhabited. After waiting ſometime however, the maid opened the door, and the maſter preſented himſelf. It is hardly worth while to obſerve ſo repeatedly, that his garden ſeems a ſpot contrived for the growth of melancholy, but being always affected by it, in the ſame way, I cannot help it. He ſhewed me a nook, in which he had placed a bench, and where he ſaid he found it very refreſhing to ſmoke his pipe and meditate. Here he ſits, with his back againſt one brick wall, and his noſe againſt another, which muſt, you know, be very refreſhing, and greatly aſſiſt meditation. He rejoices the more in this niche, becauſe it is an acquiſition made at ſome expence, and with no ſmall labour; ſeveral loads of earth were removed in order to make it, which loads of earth, had I the management of them, I ſhould carry thither again, and fill up a place more fit in appearance to be a repoſitory for the dead than the living. I would on no account, put any man out of conceit with his innocent enjoyment, and therefore never tell him my thoughts upon this ſubject, but he is not ſeldom low-ſpirited, and I cannot but ſuſpect that his ſituation helps to make him ſo.

"I ſhall be obliged to you for Hawkeſworth's Voyages, when it can be ſent conveniently. The long evenings are beginning, and nothing ſhortens them ſo effectually as reading aloud.

"Yours, my dear friend,

"W. C."

Letter C. throws light on *electioneering*.

"To the Rev. JOHN NEWTON.

"March 29, 1784.

"My Dear Friend,

"It being his Majeſty's pleaſure that I ſhould yet have another opportunity to write before he diſſolves the Parliament, I avail myſelf of it with all poſſible alacrity. I thank you for your laſt, which was not the leſs welcome for coming like an extraordinary gazette, at a time when it was not expected.

"As when the ſea is uncommonly agitated, the water finds its way into creeks and holes of rocks, which in its calmer ſtate it never reaches, in like manner the effect of theſe turbulent times is felt even at Orchard-ſide, where in general we live as undiſturbed by the political element, as ſhrimps or cockles that have been accidentally depoſited in ſome hollow beyond the water mark, by the uſual daſhing of the waves. We were ſitting yeſterday after dinner, the two

ladies and myſelf, very compoſedly, and without the leaſt apprehenſion of any ſuch intruſion in our ſnug parlour, one lady knitting, the other netting, and the gentleman winding worſted, when to our unſpeakable ſurpriſe, a mob appeared before the window, a ſmart rap was heard at the door, the boys halloo'd, and the maid announced Mr. G———. Puſs was unfortunately let out of her box, ſo that the candidate, with all his good friends at his heels, was refuſed admittance at the grand entry, and referred to the back door, as the only poſſible way of approach.

"Candidates are creatures not very ſuſceptible of affronts, and would rather, I ſuppoſe, climb in at a window, than be abſolutely excluded. In a minute, the yard, the kitchen, and the parlour, were filled. Mr. G———, advancing towards me, ſhook me by the hand with a degree of cordiality that was extremely ſeducing. As ſoon as he, and as many as could find chairs were ſeated, he began to open the intent of his viſit. I told him I had no vote, for which he readily gave me credit. I aſſured him I had no influence; which he was not equally inclined to believe, and the leſs no doubt becauſe Mr. A——, addreſſing himſelf to me at that moment, informed me that I had a great deal. Suppoſing that I could not be poſſeſſed of ſuch a treaſure without knowing it, I ventured to confirm my firſt aſſertion, by ſaying, that if I had any, I was utterly at a loſs to imagine where it could be, or wherein it conſiſted. Thus ended the conference. Mr. G——— ſqueezed me by the hand again, kiſſed the ladies, and withdrew. He kiſſed likewiſe the maid in the kitchen, and ſeemed upon the whole a moſt loving, kiſſing, kind-hearted gentleman. He is very young, genteel, and handſome. He has a pair of very good eyes in his head, which not being ſufficient as it ſhould ſeem for the many nice and difficult purpoſes of a ſenator, he had a third alſo, which he wore ſuſpended by a ribband from his button-hole. The boys halloo'd, the dogs barked, Puſs ſcampered, the hero, with his long train of obſequious followers, withdrew. We made ourſelves very merry with the adventure, and in a ſhort time ſettled into our former tranquillity, never probably to be thus interrupted more. I thought myſelf however happy in being able to affirm truly, that I had not that influence for which he ſued, and for which, had I been poſſeſſed of it, with my preſent views of the diſpute between the Crown and the Commons, I muſt have refuſed him, for he is on the ſide of the former. It is comfortable to be of no conſequence in a world, where one cannot exerciſe any without diſobliging ſomebody. The town however ſeems to be much at his ſervice, and if he be equally ſucceſsful throughout the county, he will undoubtedly gain his election. Mr. A——— perhaps was a little mortified, becauſe it was evident that I owed the honour of this viſit to his miſrepreſentation of my importance. But had he thought proper to aſſure Mr. G——— that I had three heads, I ſhould not, I ſuppoſe, have been bound to produce them.

"Mr. S——— who you ſay was ſo much admired in your pulpit, would be equally admired in his own, at leaſt by all capable judges, were he not ſo apt to be angry with his congregation. This hurts him, and had he the underſtanding and eloquence of Paul himſelf, would ſtill hurt him. He ſeldom, hardly ever indeed, preaches a gentle, well tempered ſermon, but I hear it highly commended: but warmth of temper, indulged to a degree that may be called ſcolding, defeats the end of preaching. It is a miſapplication of his powers, which it alſo cripples, and teizes away his hearers. But he is a good man, and may perhaps outgrow it.

"Yours,

"W. C."

In Letter CII. *Beattie* and *Blair* are thus characterized.

"To the Rev. WILLIAM UNWIN.

"April 5, 1784.

"My Dear William,

"I thanked you in my laſt for Johnſon, I now thank you, with more emphaſis, for Beattie, the moſt agreeable and amiable writer I ever met with. The only author I have ſeen whoſe critical and philoſophical reſearches are diverſified and embelliſhed by a poetical imagination, that makes

even the drieſt ſubject, and the leaneſt, a feaſt for an epicure in books. He is ſo much at his eaſe too, that his own character appears in every page, and, which is very rare, we ſee not only the writer, but the man: and that man ſo gentle, ſo well tempered, ſo happy in his religion, and ſo humane in his philoſophy, that it is neceſſary to love him if one has any ſenſe of what is lovely. If you have not his Poem called the Minſtrel, and cannot borrow it, I muſt beg you to buy it for me; for though I cannot afford to deal largely in ſo expenſive a commodity as books, I muſt afford to purchaſe at leaſt the poetical works of Beattie. I have read ſix of Blair's Lectures, and what do I ſay of Blair? That he is a ſenſible man, maſter of his ſubject, and excepting here and there a Scotticiſm, a good writer, ſo far at leaſt as perſpicuity of expreſſion, and method, contribute to make one. But oh the ſterility of that man's fancy! if indeed he has any ſuch faculty belonging to him. Perhaps philoſophers, or men deſigned for ſuch, are ſometimes born without one; or perhaps it withers for want of exerciſe. However that may be, Dr. Blair has ſuch a brain as Shakeſpear ſomewhere deſcribes, "dry as the remainder biſcuit after a voyage."

"I take it for granted, that theſe good men are philoſophically correct (for they are both agreed upon the ſubject) in their account of the origin of language; and if the Scripture had left us in the dark upon that article, I ſhould very readily adopt their hypotheſis for want of better information. I ſhould ſuppoſe for inſtance, that man made his firſt effort in ſpeech, in the way of an interjection, and that ah or oh being uttered with wonderful geſticulation, and variety of attitude, muſt have left his powers of expreſſion quite exhauſted: that in a courſe of time he would invent names for many things, but firſt for the objects of his daily wants. An apple would conſequently be called an apple, and perhaps not many years would elapſe before the appellation would receive the ſanction of general uſe. In this caſe, and upon this ſuppoſition, ſeeing one in the hand of another man, he would exclaim with a moſt moving pathos, "oh apple!"—well and good—oh apple! is a very affecting ſpeech, but in the mean time it profits him nothing. The man that holds it, eats it, and *he* goes away with oh apple in his mouth, and with nothing better. Reflecting on his diſappointment, and that perhaps it aroſe from his not being more explicit, he contrives a term to denote his idea of tranſfer or gratuitous communication, and the next occaſion, that offers of a ſimilar kind, performs his part accordingly. His ſpeech now ſtands thus, "oh give apple!" The apple-holder perceives himſelf called upon to part with his fruit, and, having ſatisfied his own hunger, is perhaps not unwilling to do ſo. But unfortunately there is ſtill room for a miſtake, and, a third perſon being preſent, he gives the apple to *him*. Again diſappointed, and again perceiving that his language has not all the preciſion that is requiſite, the orator retires to his ſtudy, and there, after much deep thinking, conceives that the inſertion of a pronoun, whoſe office ſhall be to ſignify that he not only wants the apple to be given, but given to himſelf, will remedy all defects, he uſes it the next opportunity, and ſucceeds to a wonder, obtains the apple and by his ſucceſs ſuch credit to his invention, that pronouns continue to be in great repute ever after.

"Now as my two ſyllable-mongers, Beattie and Blair, both agree that language was originally inſpired, and that the great variety of languages we find upon earth at preſent, took its riſe from the confuſion of tongues at Babel, I am not perfectly convinced, that there is any juſt occaſion to invent this very ingenious ſolution of a difficulty, which Scripture has ſolved already. My opinion however is, if I may preſume to have an opinion of my own ſo different from theirs, who are ſo much wiſer then myſelf, that if man had been his own teacher, and had acquired his words and his phraſes only as neceſſity or convenience had prompted, his progreſs muſt have been conſiderably ſlower than it was, and in Homer's days the production of ſuch a Poem as the Iliad impoſſible. On the contrary, I doubt not Adam on the very day of his creation, was able to ex-

preſs himſelf in terms both forcible and elegant, and that he was at no loſs for ſublime diction, and logical combination, when he wanted to praiſe his Maker.

"Yours, my dear friend,

"W. C."

Letter CIV. take alſo, it being on the ſame ſubject.

"To the Rev. JOHN NEWTON.

"April 26, 1784.

"We are glad, that your book runs. It will not indeed ſatisfy thoſe, whom nothing could ſatisfy, but your acceſſion to their party. But the liberal will ſay you do well; and it is in the opinion of ſuch men only, that you can feel yourſelf intereſted.

"I have lately been employed in reading Beattie, and Blair's Lectures. The latter I have not yet finiſhed. I find the former the moſt agreeable of the two, indeed the moſt entertaining writer upon dry ſubjects, that I ever met with. His imagination is highly poetical, his language eaſy and elegant, and his manner ſo familiar, that we ſeem to be converſing with an old friend upon terms of the moſt ſociable intercourſe, while we read him. Blair is on the contrary rather ſtiff, not that his ſtyle is pedantic, but his air is formal. He is a ſenſible man, and underſtands his ſubjects, but too conſcious, that he is addreſſing the public, and too ſolicitous about his ſucceſs to indulge himſelf for a moment in that play of fancy, which makes the other ſo agreeable. In Blair we find a ſcholar, in Beattie both a ſcholar and an amiable man, indeed ſo amiable, that I have wiſhed for his acquaintance, ever ſince I read his book. Having never in my life peruſed a page of Ariſtotle, I am glad to have had an opportunity of learning more than (I ſuppoſe) he would have taught me, from the writings of two modern critics. I felt myſelf too a little diſpoſed to compliment my own acumen upon the occaſion. For though the art of writing and compoſing was never much my ſtudy, I did not find, that they had any great news to tell me. They have aſſiſted me in putting my obſervations into ſome method, but have not ſuggeſted many, of which I was not by ſome means or other previouſly apprized. In fact, critics did not originally beget authors. But authors made critics. Common ſenſe dictated to writers the neceſſity of method, connexion, and thoughts congruous to the nature of their ſubjects; genius prompted them with embelliſhments; and then came the critics. Obſerving the good effects of an attention to theſe items, they enacted laws for the obſervance of them in time to come, and, having drawn their rules for good writing from what was actually well written, boaſted themſelves the inventors of an art, which yet the authors of the day had already exemplified. They are however uſeful in their way, giving us at one view a map of the boundaries, which propriety ſets to fancy, and ſerving, as judges, to whom the public may at once appeal, when peſtered with the vagaries of thoſe, who have had the hardineſs to tranſgreſs them.

The candidates for this county have ſet an example of œconomy, which other candidates would do well to follow, having come to an agreement on both ſides to defray the expences of their voters, but to open no houſes for the entertainment of the rabble; a reform however, which the rabble did not at all approve of, and teſtified their diſlike of it by a riot. A ſtage was built, from which the orators had deſigned to harangue the electors. This became the firſt victim of their fury. Having very little curioſity to hear what gentlemen could ſay, who would give them nothing better than words, they broke it in pieces, and threw the fragments upon the huſtings. The ſheriff, the members, the lawyers, the voters, were inſtantly put to flight. They rallied, but were again routed by a ſecond aſſault, like the former. They then proceeded to break the windows of the inn, to which they had fled; and, a fear prevailing, that at night they would fire the town, a propoſal was made by the freeholders to face about, and endeavour to ſecure them. At that inſtant, a rioter, dreſſed in a Merry Andrew's jacket, ſtepped forward, and challenged the beſt man among them. Olney ſent the hero to the field, who made him repent of his preſumption. Mr. A ——— was he. Seizing him by the throat, he ſhook him, he threw him to the earth, he made the hollowneſs of his ſcull reſound by the application of his fiſts, and dragged him into cuſtody, without the leaſt damage to his perſon. Animated by this example, the other freeholders followed; and in

five minutes twenty-eight out of thirty ragamuffins were ſafely lodged in goal.

"Adieu, my dear friend!

"We love you, and are yours,

"W. & M."

As our extracts multiply upon us, we muſt extend our notice of this very entertaining work to another number of our Miſcellany.

LXII. Captain Percival's Account of the Cape of Good Hope.

IN our laſt Number we promiſed to continue this Work, and now recommence with Chap. XV. as replete with information.

"The population of the Cape of Good Hope is uncommonly ſmall, when compared to its extent. No regular returns had been given to the Dutch government; and particularly with regard to the diſtant parts, the governors were equally ignorant of the number of the people, and the quantity of the produce; although upon the latter, in a conſiderable degree, the revenues of the colony depended. In Cape Town the free people are computed at about five thouſand, and the ſlaves in a proportion to three to one; women and children of both claſſes included. The reſt of the colony, a tract ſo extenſive and in many places ſo fertile, is not ſuppoſed to contain above double the number of inhabitants in Cape Town. No circumſtance can afford a ſtronger proof of the ignorance and want of management in the government of the colony than this extreme thinneſs of the population, where its increaſe was obſtructed by no natural cauſes.

"The religion of the inhabitants of the colony is that of the eſtabliſhed church in Holland, with the exception of ſome Lutherans and a few other diſſenters. The principal church near the grand parade, is a very handſome building, ornamented inſide with a great deal of carving and gilding; though the figures, which in ſome meaſure are emblematical of the Cape, being lions, oſtriches, and other animals found in the colony, are exceedingly clumſy and ill-ſhaped. The church is well attended, and a great deal of ſolemnity and decorum obſerved in the worſhip.

"At firſt a ſtranger might think the people here very devout and religious; yet although the government has in many ways paid much attention to the morals of the inhabitants, an intimate acquaintance with their private characters will ſoon convince an obſerver, that their devotion is in a great meaſure mere outward appearance. Notwithſtanding their canting, which might lead one to imagine they are bigotted enthuſiaſts, and ſtrict in the extreme in all religious duties, yet this is in fact not the caſe. It is only the outward ſhew of a Sunday morning; for, except on that day, they never have any concern with their Prayers or their Hymn book.

"A ſmall portion of the people of colour and free blacks are converted to Chriſtianity, and but a ſmall portion. The Dutch widely differ from the Portugueze, who enforced religion with fire and ſword wherever they came. The Dutch clergy indeed have got into the oppoſite extreme, and ſhew but little charity towards their unenlightened brethren; and where they expect to get nothing for their pains, give themſelves no trouble to propagate the Goſpel. The Dutch government have been very remiſs in not urging the clergy more to the duty of inſtructing both the natives and ſlaves in Chriſtianity. Even the people of colour, partly the offspring of Chriſtians, have been often denied baptiſm. Whether this was meant to diminiſh the number of unlawful children by heathen women, or proceeded from whites being aſhamed of having them equal in ſome meaſure with themſelves, and entering the gates of heaven along with them, I know not; but not allowing ſuch a number of children born of Chriſtian fathers to ſhare the rites of Chriſtianity, was certainly a cruel and uncharitable method of preventing ſin. Pride will not let their black offſpring mix with their own blood, or have the ſame privileges as themſelves; but, as I have been told, their chief motive was the fear of their being loſt to them as ſlaves, on their becoming Chriſtians.

"Burials at the Cape are carried on with the greateſt ſolemnity. All the friends, relations, and neighbours of the deceaſed attend in the deepeſt mourning. All that day you will ſcarcely hear a word from one of them, though half of thoſe who eſcorted the body to the grave, had been probably at variance during his whole

life time with the deceaſed. The prayers are ſaid over the body before it is brought out of the chamber; they ſay none whatever at the grave; but cover the coffin in ſilence, and then depart. A funeral with them is equal to a wake in Ireland, except that ſcenes of inebriety do not often take place. Here they aſſemble to ſmoke, drink gin, and talk of the deceaſed's abilities in the mercantile way; for theſe conſtitute every virtue; and without caring much for the loſs of their friend, they ſmoke and drink ſorrow away.

"To compare the different manners of the Dutch here with thoſe of our countrymen, without knowing the natural apathy and phlegm of the Hollanders of all ranks, would indeed ſurpriſe an Engliſhman. Even between the diſpoſitions of the men and women we are here preſented with the greateſt contraſt. The men are inſipid, dull, and unſociable: indolent and lazy in the extreme. Their amuſements and enjoyments ſeem to conſiſt of eating, ſmoking, and ſleeping; a cheerful, lively, and ſocial converſation is rarely kept up among them. The joys of the bottle, for the ſake of conviviality, are here unknown. They ſcarcely ever play at cards when they meet at evening parties, but ſit over their pipe and glaſs of gin and water in a group by themſelves. The whole turn of their converſation, if any takes place, is conſtantly on the ſubject of their various mercantile affairs, though exceedingly trifling and of no extent or conſequence. I have frequently been at their parties, where I met a number of both males and females; the men kept huddled together in one corner, ſitting over their pipes, and leaving a number of agreeable young women by themſelves, at the other end of the room, to be entertained by the Engliſh officers.

"The women at the Cape, whilſt young, are pretty and engaging, remarkably fair in their complexions, too much ſo indeed, as they want that expreſſion and thoſe animated tints which our amiable countrywomen poſſeſs. They really ſeem to have a greater ſhare of livelineſs and good-humour than what naturally belongs to the national character of the deſcendants of Hollanders. Dancing and viſiting are the principal amuſements with them, and of theſe they are very fond. There are no public balls or other amuſements at Cape Town, except thoſe parties given by the Engliſh families and officers of the garriſon, which the young ladies embrace with avidity. Any private houſe which has muſical and dancing parties at it, is open to any ſtranger or inhabitant of reſpectable character. The Dutch here are certainly much more ſtrict and ſelect in their company than thoſe at Ceylon, where a number of people of colour, and ſome nearly black, aſſociate and mingle with the whites. This is occaſioned by the inter-marriages of many of the Dutch on the iſland of Ceylon with women of colour and half-caſt Portugueze, which rarely happens at Cape Town. The young women here are fond of copying the dreſs and manners of the Engliſh and other foreign ladies, who come amongſt them; and in this they ſucceed tolerably well. As moſt of the Dutch inhabitants are reſpectable, and though not rich, have enough to live comfortably on after their own way, their daughters are pretty well educated in muſic and dancing. They are in general fond of the ſociety of foreigners, particularly the Engliſh, though I muſt do them the juſtice to ſay they are not given to a ſpirit of intriguing.

"The difference between the young men and women, in their appearance and diſpoſitions, is very great. The former are in general clumſy and awkward in their gait, unſociable and ſullen in their diſpoſitions; without taſte or faſhion in their clothes, or manner of putting them on: whilſt the young women are lively, innocent, and cheerful, dreſs well, and are given to ſociety, in which their parents indulge them without reſtraint, and this privilege they ſeldom abuſe. A Dutch father and mother behold with indifference their daughters frequent the balls and parties given by foreigners, without thinking it neceſſary to have a matron accompanying them, to watch over their conduct. Improprieties, which might be expected by ſome perſons to ariſe from this latitude of indulgence, are really very rare; and prove that ſuſpicious conſtraint is the very worſt way to ſecure the virtue of women.

"Though the young women are often so engaging in their persons, it is rare to see a married woman of a middling age who is not clumsy in shape, and indolent, and slovenly in her habits. In the married state they turn quite domestic, and seldom go out of their houses; they seem to copy their husbands in every thing but smoking. Indeed one good reason for their keeping so much at home is, that their houses being open for the reception of passengers touching continually at the Cape, have generally at all times of the year foreigners of every nation residing in them. This requires their being for the most part at home, to attend to their guests and the management of their houses. It has been alleged, though I speak not from my own observation or knowledge, that the married women are not so correct in their conduct, as before they entered into that state. I must however say of them, that to me they always seemed to be exceedingly attached to their husbands, and devoted to their family concerns. A few instances had certainly occurred of infidelity in married women, which were openly spoken of; but these were far from being so numerous as to throw any stain on the general character of the matrons at the Cape.

"The children here are too much entrusted to the care of their female slaves; but the ill consequences arising from this method of bringing them up cannot be so much felt as in their East-India settlements; for they are earlier taken from the charge of the slaves here, and instructed in a few branches of education. The young men are initiated in mercantile habits, and a sufficient knowledge of writing and accompts to render them capable of holding situations in the government offices; this constitutes the whole of what is instilled into the minds of the young men. The girls, as I have observed, receive a moderate share of writing, dancing, and music; and some who have a taste for them become proficients in the latter accomplishments.

"Their first born here is not entitled to all those advantages as with us in Europe. The property is equally divided between the male children; a certain portion being previously set apart for the female branch. No child can be disinherited by the whim or caprice of the parent, without assigning a very strong reason to the government; and even then something must be allowed for his subsistence. Disobedient children are taken cognizance of by the fiscal, and certain laws and regulations made for their management and necessary punishment. When a Dutchman marries, a full and accurate account of his property must be given and registered in order to provide for his children, so that they may be in no danger of becoming a burthen on the colony. When those arrive at a proper age, and enter the marriage state, a certain proportion must be settled on them. The children are scarcely ever bound out to any trade, or indeed sent to the public schools, which are very few at the Cape. The reason they assign for this is, that it assimilates them too much to slaves; and, in consequence of this silly pride, their children are curtailed from receiving a liberal education, and a knowledge of several useful trades. No white freeman at the Cape, except the very lowest indeed, works at any trade which requires a regular apprenticeship, or a studious application under a master. The schoolmasters, who attend the children at their parents' houses, are generally low, illiterate people, who have probably spent the greater part of their lives in carrying a musket, and whose knowledge extends only to a little reading and accompts. The children, both male and female, are remarked for their beauty; the boys whilst at that age seems to possess a vivacity and talent which, if properly attended to, might lead to very different habits, and a very different display of abilities from that which they afterwards exhibit in a maturer age. For want of a liberal and proper education, their course from infancy to manhood seems an uninterrupted course of degeneracy. One of their first lessons, as I have elsewhere observed, is to domineer over, and insult the unfortunate slaves, who are subject to all their whims and caprices. Observe the Dutch children, and those of the slaves playing and mixing together, you will see the former at one moment beating and tyranizing over the latter, and at the next caressing and encouraging them; so that from an

early period they acquire an arbitrary and capricious habit of mind.

"The diſeaſes to which the inhabitants of the colony are ſubject are dropſies, apoplexies, and diſeaſe of the liver, with other chronical diſorders proceeding from a groſs habit of body, and their lazy and indolent manner of living. A Dutchman never thinks of riding by way of amuſement to unbend the mind, and aſſiſt nature with wholeſome exerciſe. Whenever he gets on horſeback it is for the purpoſe of tranſacting buſineſs at ſome diſtance, or to viſit his country houſe. Some few ride out of an evening, or take the air in a cabriolet, or clumſy two-wheeled vehicle of a moſt remarkable conſtruction, probably derived from a model of the laſt century. But ſhould a ſouth-eaſt wind ariſe, they hurry to their houſes and ſhut themſelves up, laughing at our temerity in ſtaying out and being expoſed to its diſagreeable effects.

"Their children are ſubject to ſore throats and eruptions on their bodies. Thoſe epidemic diſeaſes to which children are ſubject in Europe, ſuch as the meazles, hooping cough, and ſmall-pox, are ſcarcely known here; but when they do make their appearance they prove very fatal. An inhabitant of the Cape, born there, rarely undergoes all thoſe three. The ſmall-pox when it takes place is almoſt certain to cauſe the death of the perſon affected. They look on it as a moſt terrible calamity; and no perſuaſions will induce them to ſuffer inoculation to be practiſed. Some years ago this diſorder broke out in Cape Town, and carried off an immenſe number, ſo as to cauſe the moſt alarming apprehenſions for the whole colony. They allow no perſon to land without firſt examining whether he has had it or not. The moment a ſhip appears in the bay ſhe is viſited by the health maſter, a doctor kept and paid by government ſolely for examining the paſſengers and crew of every veſſel which touches here. This man goes on board and minutely examines every one from the captain to the cabin boy in the moſt minute manner, and the reſult muſt be regiſtered and entered in the government books before any one can be allowed to land. A ſlight eruption, boil, or pimple, may be the cauſe of preventing a perſon from obtaining leave to come on ſhore. When this diſeaſe at any time broke out in Cape Town, thoſe who had not had it fled immediately into the country, and it was ſome time before they could be perſuaded to return. During the time the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of the Cape every argument was made uſe of, and daily examples ſhewn of the children of the ſoldiers, and thoſe men belonging to the different regiments who had it not previous to coming here, being inoculated; but without producing any effect in removing their prejudices. On my firſt arrival in 1796, when coming with my regiment, this ceremony of being examined by the health maſter was not of courſe attended to, but on my way home as a paſſenger I was obliged to ſhew my arm to the doctor, as alſo certify under my hand that I formerly had the diſeaſe.

"I am confident many more Dutch ladies would have been married to the Britiſh officers, but that the fear of going to Europe and catching the ſmall-pox, deterred them. "If I marry you I muſt go to England where I ſhall be ſure to catch the ſmall-pox and die." Such was the language I have heard made uſe of by ſeveral of the young ladies. This fear has been increaſed ſince two Cape ladies, who had gone from thence to England with their huſbands, caught the infection in this country, and unfortunately fell victims to it. I have however the pleaſure to know a very amiable Dutch lady who had come home with her huſband, a captain of artillery, and had ſubmitted to inoculation which terminated very favourably.

"The inhabitants of the Cape are not long lived, owing to their habit of body and mode of living. Our countrymen find the climate of the Cape exceedingly healthy, nor are they ſubject to any diſeaſes except thoſe brought on by their own intemperance. Many of thoſe diſorders to which we are ſubject to in Europe are almoſt unknown here. On the whole, the Cape of Good Hope has the firſt climate in the world, and even preferable in my opinion to that of Saint Helena. The general hoſpitals at the Cape were, I am happy to ſay, inhabited only by about thirty of our troops; very little practice for a phyſician is indeed to be met with at the Cape.

"The ſlaves are very numerous at Cape Town, and compoſe a very large proportion of its inhabitants. Every Dutchman of any conſequence or rank having from ten to fifteen or twenty, including females and children. Even thoſe Dutch families of an inferior order have often in their families from ſix to a dozen, who are domeſticated and bred up in their houſes from their infancy. The Dutch keep no European or white ſervants whatever. The ſlaves are of various deſcriptions and nations. It muſt be allowed that in general they are well and humanely treated, particularly at Cape Town. There are of courſe inſtances of inhuman and cruel maſters, and it has been obſerved that the Dutch treated their ſlaves much more rigorouſly before the arrival of the Engliſh than afterwards. Some ſevere laws were enacted to prevent the crimes of thoſe unfortunate creatures, at the ſame time that there were wholeſome, juſt, and humane edicts paſſed in favour of them to prevent their being cruelly and unjuſtly treated by their maſters. From their being ſo very numerous, and compoſed of a mixture of various black nations, apprehenſions of their riſing and maſſacring the coloniſts, were often entertained, and the ſtricteſt care was taken to prevent ſuch a contingency. From what I obſerved of this large body of people at the Cape, I could ſee no juſt cauſe for the Dutch to be uneaſy on that account; yet their apprehenſions were not unnatural, when we conſider the great ſuperiority of the ſlaves in numbers, and the variety of diſpoſitions which characterize thoſe natives of different parts of Aſia and Africa. Many of them are known to be treacherous, cruel, and revengeful, whilſt others are timid, paſſive, and obedient. All thoſe ſlaves, who were not well known to be of the latter claſs, were ſtrictly looked after, and care was taken to lock them up at night in a ſeparate and ſecure part of the houſe; a lodge in the rear of each building being ſet apart for that purpoſe, and ſtrongly blocked up and ſecured from the apartments occupied by the family, and their more confidential ſlaves. Every morning theſe nightly priſoners were ſet at liberty to follow the various labours allotted for them. After the arrival of the Engliſh every apprehenſion of their riſing ſeemed to be done away; the number of troops which compoſed our garriſon, and their ſtrict attention to duty, being ſufficient to diſpel any fears of that ſort.

"The different races of ſlaves and people of colour to be met with at Cape Town, conſiſt of the following claſſes:—The ſlaves from Bengal and the Malabar coaſt. Thoſe of colour, deſcended from a connection between the Dutch and their ſlaves or black women. Malays from Batavia and the Eaſtern iſlands of India. The Buganeſe, half Malay and half African; the natives of Madagaſcar; those of the coaſt of Guinea, called Caffrees and Negroes; the Caffrees and Africans of the interior part of the Cape of Good Hope; and laſtly, the Hottentots, the numbers of whom employed in ſervice here are few, and rarely unmixed, but born either of a Hottentot father or mother, and on the other ſide a Caffree or Negro.

"The ſlaves of colour, called in general Mulattoes, are the offſpring of the whites with ſlave women. Theſe are eſteemed the firſt and beſt claſs, and a far greater value is ſet on them than on any of the others. The men of this deſcription compoſing the claſs of houſe ſervants, are employed to attend at table as butlers and footmen, and wait on the ſtrangers who have a temporary reſidence in their maſters' houſes. The women of this deſcription are the houſe-ſervants, and attend to the bed-chambers; they alſo wait at table on their miſtreſſes, about whoſe perſons they are chiefly employed. Theſe are better dreſſed and more gently treated by far than the other ſlaves, and ſeldom put to laborious work; their leiſure hours being employed in knitting, ſpinning, ſewing, and the like light occupations. Moſt of them, particularly when young, are handſome and even beautiful. I have ſeen perſons among them as fair as ſome I have met with in Europe; and if I had not been told they were ſlaves born of Mulatto women, I ſhould certainly have thought them children of the poorer Dutch. Scarcely any of this deſcription, whilſt girls and young women, but are comely and well-ſhaped, and dreſs like our ſervant maids in Europe. The Dutch ladies take a pride in having them nice and

well-dreſſed to follow them when they go to church or pay viſits; they are employed to carry their miſtreſſes' Prayer book or work bag, and to hold an umbrella over their heads to ſhade them from the ſun.

"The Bengaleſe and Malabars are conſidered the next to thoſe I have deſcribed, and are alſo treated in much the ſame manner as the former. Every perſon who has been in India muſt allow thoſe Aſiatics to be faithful, mild, and ſubmiſſive in their diſpoſitions; never requiring ill-treatment or blows to ſtimulate them in their duty. An angry word actuates upon them like an electrical ſhock; they ſtudy their maſters' looks, and as readily obey a nod as if it was a peremptory command. Thoſe people are entruſted in all domeſtic concerns, and make ingenious artificers and craftsmen. Both the males and females are employed as cooks, butlers, and houſehold ſervants; and as their mild, peaceable, and gentle diſpoſition is ſo well-known, no fears are entertained of their committing any ſanguinary outrage.

"The Madagaſcar, Guinea, Negro, Buganeſe, and Caffree ſlaves, are by far the moſt numerous at the Cape. In colour they are much blacker than any other, in perſon ſtronger, in diſpoſition often ſulky, untractable, and treacherous, requiring harſh and ſevere uſage and chaſtiſement to make them work; they are indeed always idle whenever they can find an opportunity. From their bodily ſtrength they are uſed for the more laborious work, although they are occaſionally employed in houſehold and domeſtic offices. They commonly work at maſonry, at wood work, and at all thoſe kinds of handicraft which require much exertion. To carry burthens, and to go into the country, and to procure fuel, is their chief employment. They are capable of enduring great fatigue, and it is aſtoniſhing to ſee the immenſe loads they carry. Sometimes they have to go five, eight, or ten miles into the country to look for bruſh-wood, cow dung, or ſtumps of trees for fuel. When they have obtained a ſufficient quantity, perhaps often after a long day's exceſſive fatigue, they make it up into two bundles, each of which would be thought a ſufficient burthen for an Engliſh porter. Theſe are made faſt to a flat piece of bamboe, about four feet in length; one bundle being ſuſpended to each end. The bamboe is then placed on the ſhoulder, and the ſlave moves off with his weights balanced, one ſwinging before and the other behind. In ſuch a manner they convey baſkets of fruit, vegetables, and many other articles, and go at the rate of five miles an hour.

"The ſlaves of the Malay race are tolerably numerous. They are employed in many kinds of laborious work, ſuch as gardening, and attending the grounds belonging to the pleaſure-houſes round the Town; and in the kitchens, and the drudgery work belonging to them. They are alſo often employed in fiſhing and procuring fuel. This laſt claſs of people are extremely vindictive, treacherous, and ferocious; implacable in their revenge, and on the ſlighteſt provocation, or imaginary inſult, will commit murder. They are indeed a ſcourge to the people they come amongſt. When bent on revenge, or irritated at ſome ſuppoſed inſult, they ſcarcely ever fail of wreaking their vengeance. Many ſhocking murders have been committed by the Malay ſlaves on their maſters and miſtreſſes; not for the purpoſe of robbing, but merely to gratify their thirſt of revenge, which nothing but the blood of their object will ſatisfy, though at the certain loſs of their own lives. When the Malay has determined on revenge, he takes a quantity of opium to work himſelf up to a ſtate of madneſs, when he ruſhes out with a knife or dagger, which is called a kreeſe, and after putting to death the original object of his infernal paſſion, he next ruſhes at every one he meets, till he is at length overpowered and taken, which perhaps is not the caſe till ſeveral victims fall before him. Nothing but a lucky ſhot or blow that ſtuns him to the earth, will enſure the ſafety of his opponent, as he proceeds with ſuch a ſavage fierceneſs and impetuoſity, that it is reckoned a moſt arduous and dangerous ſervice to encounter him in this ſtate. This is what is called running a muck; on the ſlighteſt alarm of which, every

one flies before him, and escapes the best way he can. Whoever kills a Malay in the act of running a muck, is entitled to a very high reward from government; and he certainly deserves it, for the most cool and intrepid are scarcely a match for the Malay, when worked to this pitch of desperate madness.

"The two following instances occurred whilst I was at Cape Town:—A Malay for some insult or necessary chastisement received from his master, drew a knife and stabbed him to the heart, and immediately rushed out into the streets with the weapon reeking with the blood of his unfortunate victim. The first person he met was a very fine slave girl, about seventeen years old, into whose face he darted the dreadful weapon. Fortunately a country farmer was at the moment passing by Strand Street, where it happened, and having a gun loaded in the waggon he was driving, fired and killed the Malay on the spot. If this shot had not succeeded in bringing him down, I and a brother officer, who came to the spot a few moments after, would in all probability have been his next victims. The poor slave girl died in a few hours after. This was the second time that a slave of the Malay race, running a muck, was prevented from falling in with me. Once indeed at Ponamala, in the East-Indies, I very narrowly escaped, having been slightly wounded in the arm by a Malay who had attacked some Sepoys; and if I had not been fortunate enough to give him at the first cut so severe a wound as to disable him, he would certainly have put me to death. The kreese he struck me with was poisoned, and my arm in consequence swelled to a very great degree, and for some time it was thought I should have lost it, if not my life. I must here remark, that I received the greatest benefit from the Eau de Luce, which I have every reason to believe is a valuable antidote against poison; it has been found to prevent fatal effects from the most venomous bites of snakes. Doctor Anderson, of Madras, was the first who administered it in those cases, and found out its beneficial effects.

"Another instance of the barbarity of this race of slaves, which happened at the Cape whilst I was there, occurred in a Malay, who, on being refused leave by his master to go out to a festival or merry-making with his fellows, took a knife and stabbed him to the heart, then went to his mistress in the adjoining room, and committed on her the same barbarous and inhuman act. An old Malabar slave who was cutting wood before the door, having observed him perpetrate these horrid murders, watched the opportunity as he was rushing out of the door, and striking him on the head with the axe, with which he was cleaving the wood, killed him on the spot. The government was generous enough to reward the Malabar with his liberty, and one hundred dollars. The Malays are certainly a most active and laborious race, do a great deal of work, and of every kind; equally useful in tilling and cultivating the ground, as at those works which require mechanical dexterity.

"Very few Hottentots are slaves in proportion to the other races. By an ancient law of the government at the Cape, the Hottentots were exempted from slavery, as being the original possessors of this country; but the Dutch in many instances have contrived to evade this law by some means or other, and to lay hold of the children of those Hottentots in their service, though the parents are free.

"All children born of a slave woman, though got by a white man, even by themselves, become slaves. It thus often happens, that the master has his own child a slave, and if the parent and master dies without its being enfranchised, then it is sold by the heirs or executors to some other master, if not kept as a slave in the surviving family.

"The Dutch ladies have no reluctance to their slave girls having connection with their guests, in hopes of profiting by it, by their being got with child. I myself know instances where they have been ordered to wait on such a gentleman to his bed room; what followed does not require to be mentioned. One of my friends, whose veracity I have not the least doubt of, assured me that a very engaging slave girl, to whom he paid his addresses, and who seemed exceedingly coy and reserved, was one night

pushed into his room by the mistress of the house, who locked the door, and left her with him.

"The treatment of the different classes of slaves at the Cape is by no means the same. The domestic slaves at Cape Town live equally happy as our own servants, and only retain the name of slaves. Few or none of them would even wish a release from this bondage, except a pretty Tawny or Mulatto young woman, who may have offers of marriage from one of the inferior order of Dutchmen, or an opportunity to go to Europe, to wait on a lady or her children on the passage. From eight hundred to a thousand rix-dollars and upwards, are often asked for them in that case. Far different is the case of the poor Negro, Caffree, and African slaves, who are employed at hard labour, and out of their houses; but I must say of the people of Cape Town, that they universally treat them well in comparison to the farmers and planters of the country parts. The poor creatures in the service of the latter, are obliged to work early and late, and go through a great deal of fatigue and bodily labour in the management and attendance of the farms. They are very indifferently fed and clothed; though they might get abundance at a very trifling expence to their masters, amidst so much waste of offal, vegetables, and milk, which are often thrown away. Black bread, half sand, and the offal of sheep and oxen, are their general fare. With respect to the punishing and chastising of slaves, those unfortunate creatures belonging to the country Dutch are at the mercy of their lords and masters, and are often beaten most unmercifully for the slightest fault. With the greatest *sang froid* imaginable, one of those haughty boors sits smoking his pipe, and beholding his unfortunate slave undergoing the lash. If it is a very heinous offence, it requires more pipes than one to see it out; for it is really the case with the farmers and planters that the punishment they inflict on their slaves is measured by the time they take to smoke so many pipes. If it is a small offence, they give him one pipe, and he is never taken down till that pipe is smoked out.

"A regulation is laid down at Cape Town with respect to the punishment of the slaves. Here the master cannot domineer over or punish his slave unmercifully at his own will or through caprice; a slight discipline with a small cane, being all he can take upon himself to inflict. If a slave commits a crime of any magnitude, he is sent to the police, and it comes under the cognizance of a certain person appointed by the government to superintend the slaves' conduct. He is sent to the Tronk, or prison, and put to hard work for a certain time; and, excepting it is a criminal matter, which requires the life or perpetual imprisoment of the offender, he is sent back to his master after a few months of imprisonment, hard labour, and a certain portion of bodily chastisement.

"The fear of the prison keeps the slaves in good order at Cape Town, and but few instances happen where they commit great offences, or require such severe punishment. This regulation should certainly be extended to the country parts, and that severe and unmerciful treatment they inflict on their wretched slaves be prohibited by law.

"All the blacks and slaves of every nation here have an extravagant passion for gaming, particularly for card playing and cock-fighting, in which they are well-skilled and reckoned great adepts. To so great a pitch do they carry the love of cock-fighting, that in every street you see numbers of black slaves with cocks under their arms ready to pit against any other that offers. They take post in some corner or other for a whole day, whenever they can find an opportunity to slip from their master's business, watching the appearance of some rival to contend with them.

"In every bye street, or retired corner of the squares and areas, even in the sands of the outlets or environs of Cape Town, are seen groups of slaves playing at cards, and enjoying themselves. This temporary alleviation from their melancholy state of bondage, if it was not abused, might be allowed and indulged; but the consequences which arise from the passion for gaming bring many evils, and it is often their own destruction, as they will frequently rob their masters to gratify it, and even murder themselves when they lose all.

"The police of the town, whenever they find the ſlaves employed in this way, are ſure to take them up and puniſh them ſeverely. The Malays carry the paſſion for gaming, and particularly for cock-fighting, much farther than any of the others. Their breed of cocks are remarkably fine, and they are as much attached to them as we are to our moſt favourite race horſes. My reader may ſmile at the compariſon of a race horſe and a game cock, but the Malays in the Eaſt Indies prize their cocks above any other conſideration, nor will any money make them part with a good and well-trained cock. Amongſt ſome of their princes from one hundred to a thouſand dollars has ſcarcely been thought equivalent to the value of one of thoſe birds.

"The overplus of the fuel procured by the ſlaves, in the manner I have before deſcribed, is ſent to market and diſpoſed of, which brings into the maſters no inconſiderable ſum in the courſe of a year. A ſmall cart load of this bruſh-wood or fuel will coſt from ſix to eight or ten rix-dollars. Fortunately this neceſſary article of life requires to be uſed only in the kitchens for cooking, waſhing, &c. the climate at the Cape being ſo mild that no fires are in general required in the dining or ſitting rooms. Sometimes in the winter ſeaſon, when the weather is uncommonly wet and damp, ſtoves are made uſe of.

"The Dutch, after the arrival of the Engliſh in ſuch numbers, raiſed the price of fuel, and indeed all the labour of their ſlaves, ſo exorbitantly high as often to occaſion temporary diſtreſs to many individuals. None felt it ſo much as thoſe Engliſh reſidents not belonging to the military eſtabliſhment, who from having families, or from various reaſons, were obliged to keep houſes themſelves inſtead of boarding with the Dutch, and therefore was obliged to ſupply themſelves with every article of living. Lodgings and houſes were alſo exceſſively dear; however, I muſt do the Dutch the juſtice to ſay, their charges are not ſingular in this reſpect; many parts of my own country are equally extravagant and unconſcientious in their demands from military men.

"The ſcarcity of fuel is an evil ſeverely felt at Cape Town, and it will daily increaſe except the town ſhall come to be liberally and extenſively ſupplied from the interior by means of veſſels bringing it from the different bays along the coaſt. Every year the few remaining ſhrubs and ſtunted trees round Cape Town will be diminiſhed till no farther reſource will be left from them; and to obviate this approaching evil, the government ſhould ſeriouſly adopt proper meaſures. No coal is uſed here, none being ever brought from Europe, nor have any coal mines been ever properly ſought after by the Dutch. I have already mentioned the attempt to diſcover a vein while Lord Macartney was Governor; but after going to a great deal of trouble and expence, the project died away. This was, perhaps, owing to Lord Macartney quitting the Cape ſoon after, and to its not being found to anſwer the expence, there being no regular mines or perſons properly acquainted with this art to turn it to any advantage. It was thought at the Cape the idea was too ſoon given up, that the quality of the coal was not properly aſcertained, that part tried being too near the earth, and too much incorporated with ſtone and a hard ſandy ſtratum; at any rate, I ſhould imagine it might anſwer the purpoſes which they require here of fuel for kitchens, and the uſe of their ſlaves.

"To ſum up the characters of the different ſlaves, is to give that of their ſeveral nations. I ſhall therefore ſum them up in a few lines. The Caffree negro, and different races of Buganeſe and Ethiopians, are given to vicious habits. Moroſe, ſulky, and obſtinate, but without having recourſe to vindictive or ſanguinary meaſures of revenge againſt their maſters; requiring coercive meaſures to oblige them to labour, and avoiding it whenever an opportunity offers. The Aſiatics of the Moor and Malabar race are humble, ſubmiſſive, willing to do whatever lies in their power, fearful of offending and grateful for favours, ſeldom treſpaſſing on indulgence; their maſter's intereſts they conſider as their own, and are highly attached to his children, and ſeem to have no wiſh beyond the ſtate in which they are placed by fortune. The Malay character is that of implacable and blood thirſty revenge; they undauntedly endure their maſter's

reproaches and blows, meditating all the while a ſevere and ſanguinary revenge. With the ſame firmneſs they go to the place of execution, and whilſt life is in them never regret the atrocious deed which brings them to an untimely end. Inſtances of murder have too frequently been committed by thoſe people. The Dutch executed them by the greateſt torments; and broke them on the rack and wheel. In caſes where a clear evidence was not obtained of the fact committed, their court of juſtice extorted it by inflicting tortures like the court of inquiſition in Spain and Portugal. Thoſe laws, and this mode of execution, have been aboliſhed by the Engliſh, and the criminal executed by hanging. It has been often obſerved that fewer inſtances happened of thoſe murders being committed by the ſlaves, and fewer executions took place, during the time that we had poſſeſſion of the Cape, than in any one period of the ſame length under the Dutch government, by one to five; ſo that the cruel tortures which the Dutch inflicted were far from reſtraining the perpetration of crimes.

"Thoſe unhappy ſlaves who had the misfortune of belonging to a cruel and tyranical maſter, often took an opportunity of deſerting to the interior, or the hills in the neighbourhood of the town, where they lay concealed all day in holes or caverns, from whence they iſſued out at night to the ſuburbs and purlieus to receive proviſions, and other neceſſaries from their friends with whom they kept up a ſecret correſpondence; and not unfrequently attacked retired farm-houſes to ſupport themſelves. Now and then inſtances have occurred of their waylaying and robbing paſſengers, and people whom curioſity induced to wander about the neighbourhood."

We are likewiſe tempted to tranſcribe from this excellent work, the laſt chapter.

"In the preceding narrative of my obſervations at the Cape of Good Hope, I have endeavoured to avoid ſtating any fact which was not derived either from my own immediate knowledge, or from ſuch information as I conſidered to be indiſputably authentic. Many errors may ſtill undoubtedly be diſcovered, and my political reaſonings found erroneous by thoſe who are more capable of deciding on the ſubject. Since writing the above pages, however, events have taken place which juſtify my opinion that the Dutch government is, in its preſent ſtate, utterly incapable, not only of improving, but even of preſerving internal tranquillity in any of its colonies, although threatened with no enemy from without. The rebellious boors of the interior parts of the colony of the Cape, as ſoon as they felt themſelves relieved from their apprehenſions of Britiſh troops, loſt no time in renewing their inſolent oppoſition to government, and their uſual barbarities towards the unfortunate Hottentots and Caffrees. In conſequence the whole colony has been thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and the inhabitants placed in a continual ſtate of danger and alarm. The Caffrees at length, exaſperated by continual injuries, have joined with the oppreſſed Hottentots, and have produced ſuch devaſtation in the interior parts of the colony, that the inhabitants of Cape Town begin to fear their uſual ſupplies of cattle will be totally cut off.

"In ſuch a ſtate of things it can ſcarcely be doubted that if a Britiſh force were to appear at the Cape, little or no oppoſition would or indeed could be made to its taking poſſeſſion of the colony. The garriſon is too feeble of itſelf to maintain a conteſt, and no ſupport can be expected from the inhabitants, while a great proportion would hail the arrival of their conquerors as their deliverance from the brink of deſtruction. But it is not from the facility of the conqueſts, nor from falſe views of aggrandiſement by the extenſion of territory, that I would point out this colony as a poſſeſſion which ought at the preſent moment to be wreſted from our enemies. Even the proſpect of diſtant advantages might be looked upon as inſufficient to juſtify an extenſion of territory, which might eventually increaſe the burthens of the country, and would at any rate employ a part of thoſe forces which are at preſent ſo much required for the defence of our territories at home and abroad.

"The ſituation of the Cape of Good Hope, however, placed as it is directly in the middle between the two great diviſions of the Britiſh empire, forces itſelf upon the attention of

Great Britain, as a poſſeſſion which would not only contribute to her proſperity, but which ſeems almoſt eſſential to her ſafety. The Cape in the hands of the tributary republic of Holland, can only be conſidered as a French colony; and when we conſider that Bonaparte looks upon our Indian territories as the great reſource of our national power, we cannot ſuppoſe that he will long neglect to avail himſelf of the advantages which the local ſituation of the Cape preſents for our annoyance. Here he may have an opportunity of gradually throwing in forces and ſtores, and of accumulating, almoſt unperceived, ſuch a force as may prove truly dangerous to our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt. Without a port to retire to for refreſhment or for ſhelter from the ſtorms of thoſe latitudes, it is impoſſible that our cruizers can here watch the motions of our enemy, or blockade his ſquadrons as we do in his European harbours. The forces which he might diſpatch from this ſtation againſt our Eaſt-India ſettlements, would be far more dangerous than the ſame, or a much greater number, ſent out direct from Europe. As the climate of the Cape ſeems in a particular manner fitted not only for recruiting the health of the ſoldier, but alſo for preparing him to endure the heats of India, our enemy's troops would on their arrival be enabled to cope with our forces on equal terms, and even with the advantage of unbroken health and ſpirits on their ſide. We may reſt aſſured that the enemy who could undertake the romantic ſcheme of penetrating by Egypt and the Red Sea to our eaſtern empire, will not overlook the eaſier and far more ſure means, of effectuating his purpoſe, which are preſented to him by the Cape of Good Hope.

"To collect ſuch a force, however, at this ſtation as might actually endanger our Indian dominions, may be the work of time; but our enemy has not to look forward to a diſtant period before he can turn the Cape to the purpoſe of annoying us. Thoſe veſſels, which convey the reſources we derive from the Eaſt, muſt of neceſſity paſs the ſeas which may be ſaid to be commanded by the Cape. In the outward bound paſſage, indeed, our ſhips may take a wider range, but it is impoſſible for them to bear ſo far to the ſouth, as to be entirely out of the cruizers of an enemy's ſquadron ſtationed off the Cape to cruize againſt our trade. When we conſider the loſſes we ſuſtained in the laſt war by the cruizers from the Mauritius, and the Iſle de France, and when we look to the relative ſituation of theſe iſlands and the promontory of the Cape, we ſhall be convinced that with all theſe ſtations at once in their poſſeſſion, our enemies may ſo completely command the tract of our Eaſt India merchantmen, that an eſcape to Britain with their cargoes, will be nearly as difficult for them, as to eſcape from the Havannah to Europe is for the Regiſter ſhips during a war between Spain and this country.

"When theſe conſequences of the Cape being in the hands of our enemies are duly conſidered, it will appear a matter abſolutely required by political prudence, that we ſhould loſe no time in retaining this colony. During a war, the ſafety of our Eaſt-India trade can no otherwiſe be ſecured; and equally, in peace and in war, the Cape may be made uſe of for ſuch preparations as may afterwards be employed to wreſt from us our moſt valuable poſſeſſions. If report may indeed be believed, the French have already begun to collect at this point a force, which muſt cauſe the more uneaſineſs, and probably damage, that this is the ſtation, in all the world, where we can leaſt watch its motions and counteract its operations.

"Theſe conſiderations, of ſecurity to a large portion of our dominions, are of themſelves, independent of all others, certainly ſufficient to juſtify our attempting to regain the Cape of Good Hope, even were the ſupport of the ſettlement to entail upon us a conſiderable expence; but there are many other advantages which it might be made to yield to Great Britain. The internal wealth of the colony does not indeed hold out any temptation; and if its reſources could be made to maintain the civil and military eſtabliſhments neceſſary for its own defence, little more is to be expected from them, at leaſt for ſeveral years. I have, however, in the courſe of this work taken occaſion to point out many improvements of which various parts

of the ſettlement are ſuſceptible, and ſeveral articles of produce which, by a proper attention to their cultivation, might in time come to be of importance to our commerce and revenue. The wines of the Cape might, by proper culture, be rendered in many inſtances, equal to thoſe of Europe. The high winds, the want of water, and other natural cauſes, obſtruct in ſome degree the extenſion of the wine plantations; but theſe obſtacles may be got over in a ſufficient number of inſtances to render the wine produced a valuable article of commerce. To ſecure in this manner, within our own dominions, a ſupply of a commodity, which from its general uſe in this country may be accounted a neceſſary of life, muſt, in the preſent diſtracted ſituation of Europe, and the precarious circumſtances of Portugal, be conſidered as an object which has a claim to the moſt ſerious attention of our government.

"The culivation of the ſugar-cane is another article which might be carried to a very conſiderable extent at the Cape. If a ſupply of ſugar and rum could thus be procured, without the continual riſk which attends the climate of the Weſt-Indies, we might at all times be enabled to underſell every other nation in theſe articles; the contingent loſs of any of our Weſt-India iſlands, or the deſtruction of the plantations, would be a matter of leſs detriment to the nation at large; nor would ſo much Britiſh capital be ſunk, nor ſo many Britiſh lives yearly loſt on a moſt uncertain ſpecies of ſpeculation.

"I have mentioned ſeveral other articles which might here be cultivated with much advantage, ſuch as tobacco and olives, the latter of which grow here in almoſt any ſoil. But it is not to particular articles of produce that the ſpeculations of the Cape planter require to be reſtricted; the productions of almoſt every climate might here be raiſed with advantage, if the art of man were induſtriouſly employed to ſecond the bounty of nature. If the method of collecting water and flooding the grounds were properly underſtood, and hedge-rows and woods reared at proper intervals to protect the fields, the internal riches of the Cape, might at no great diſtance of time, vie with that of any of our colonies.

"The benefits which our Eaſt-India merchantmen, our South Sea whalers, and our ſhips of all ſorts, which come into theſe latitudes, would derive from our poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope, are as great as they are obvious. A place of refreſhment and ſhelter for theſe veſſels, is, in many caſes, indiſpenſable; yet, with the exception of St. Helena, we have not a ſingle port to receive them in the vaſt ſtretch between Europe and the peninſula of India. The ſupplies of proviſions and water afforded by St. Helena are extremely ſcanty; and it has beſides this peculiar diſadvantage, that it can only be viſited by veſſels in their homeward bound paſſage, and that for ſix months in the year it muſt be beat up to in the face of contrary winds. For outward-bound veſſels the Rio Janeiro ſerves at preſent as a half-way ſtation; but beſides that it takes our veſſels conſiderably out of their way, it is to be remembered that we have to depend for the continuance of this convenience on the friendſhip of the Portugueze, who may already be conſidered as the humble tributaries of France.

"The advantages of poſſeſſing the only naval ſtation in the tract of our Eaſt-India trade, which by its harbours affords complete ſecurity at all ſeaſons of the year, and to any number of ſhips, ſeem indeed too evident to require any argument; and yet theſe advantages have of late been ſo much over-looked by the nation, that ſome reaſoning appears neceſſary to ſhew that they have not been overrated. A ſtation in thoſe ſeas for refreſhing the crews of our trading veſſels is an object daily riſing in importance; nor can we reckon our commerce there at all ſecure, while we depend for its facilities in any degree on the precarious friendſhip of States, who may be compelled to become our enemies. Other nations, the Americans in particular, have already begun to ſhare our trade in the Eaſt-Indies, and our fiſheries in the South Seas. Every circumſtance that tends to obſtruct our commerce in that quarter, muſt in the ſame proportion increaſe that of our rivals;

and in this manner a door may be opened to undermine one of the moſt valuable branches of our reſources.

"If, on the other hand, the Cape of Good Hope were in our poſſeſſion, the facility of carrying on the Eaſt India trade, and the South Sea fiſhery, would greatly preponderate on our ſide; and our eſtabliſhed commerce and regular adventures, ſupported by the vaſt capital of this country, might then ſet all competition at defiance. The trade of all the other nations, whoſe veſſels frequent thoſe ſeas, would in that event be completely in our power. In the time of war a few cruizers ſtationed here might entirely command the ſurrounding ſeas, nor would it be almoſt poſſible for the veſſels of any nation trading to the Eaſt Indies to eſcape them. The mere poſſeſſion of the harbours of the Cape, without almoſt any cruizers, would indeed be nearly ſufficient to bring all our enemies into our power. No European nation, with the exception of the Engliſh, can venture upon ſtretching between Europe and India without ſtopping by the way to refreſh. The inferior hardineſs of their ſailors, the ill-provided ſtate of their veſſels, and their inattention to cleanlineſs, renders it altogether impoſſible for them to ſupport an uninterrupted voyage of five or ſix months.

"For the purpoſes of defending our own foreign poſſeſſions, or keeping our enemies in check, no ſtation can indeed be found comparable to the Cape of Good Hope. The facility and expedition with which troops can be ſent from it to the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, to South America, or to any part of the coaſts of Africa, muſt enable us to counteract, with the beſt poſſible effect, every attempt which might be prejudicial to our intereſts. Should the French again ſucceed in rendering themſelves maſters of Egypt, a ſquadron from the Cape of Good Hope, could, in the courſe of a few weeks, either blockade the entrance of the Red Sea, if any danger was apprehended to India from a French armament; or convey to Suez a body of troops to attack our enemies from that ſide, and co-operate with our forces penetrating from the Mediterranean. Were the native princes of India to make ſuch head againſt us, as that our army there required ſpeedy reinforcements, we could from the Cape convey troops thither in leſs than half the time in which they could be ſent from Europe; and with the additional advantage of their being already ſeaſoned to the climate, and able immediately to act againſt the enemy. Were any ſudden attempt to be made on our Weſt India iſlands, a force from the Cape might in the ſame manner ſpeedily arrive to their relief; and that mortality be in a great meaſure prevented which has rendered thoſe colonies the graves of ſo many Europeans.

"Beſides the advantages of its centrical poſition, the qualities of the climate of the Cape in ſeaſoning ſoldiers for ſervice in the warm latitudes, joined to the cheapneſs with which an army may be maintained here, are ſufficient motives for marking it out as a moſt deſirable military ſtation. The number of brave men which the defence of our Eaſt and Weſt India dominions have coſt us, and who have fallen victims, not to the ſword of our enemies, but to the peſtilential nature of the climate, cannot but produce the moſt melancholy reflections. The Eaſt Indies are indeed much leſs fatal; yet when troops arrive there in the weakly ſtate which muſt always be conſequent on a long voyage, thoſe diſtempers, which in a healthier frame of body they might have undergone without any bad conſequences, are often found too powerful for their conſtitutions. Even when theſe diſtempers do not prove immediately fatal, they are apt to leave the individual in ſuch a ſtate as to incapacitate him for any vigorous exertion, and render the remainder of his life a ſort of lingering decay. The invigorating effects of the climate of the Cape hav been proved in innumerable inſtances. Many of our officers who came thither from India with conſtitutions ſo enfeebled, that their cure ſeemed beyond the reach of medicine, were in a very ſhort time ſo reſtored at the Cape as to be able to return in perfect health to their regiments. To provide ſuch a receptacle for thoſe gallant men, who have ſacrificed their own health to the ſervice of their country, is ſurely an object of the firſt importance. Many who could bear to be conveyed from India to the Cape, for the benefit of a better cli-

mate, would ſink under a voyage of double length to Europe. The effects of the Cape in recruiting men after a ſea voyage with aſtoniſhing rapidity are well known; and its property of ſeaſoning troops for warmer climates has been proved in many inſtances. The troops which were diſpatched from thence to aſſiſt in reducing the power of Tippoo Saib, were able, on landing in India, immediately to take the field, and to join in ſtorming Seringapatam. The ſame regiments are at preſent partaking in our glorious ſucceſſes in India, and acting with unabated vigour and energy.

"The cheapneſs with which an army may be maintained at the Cape of Good Hope is alſo well deſerving of ſerious conſideration. The abundance of proviſions of all ſorts is ſuch, that with proper management a body of troops might be ſubſiſted here, at a third leſs expence than in any other part of his Majeſty's dominions. The comforts which muſt ariſe to the ſoldiers themſelves from this cauſe, and the effect it muſt have on reconciling them to foreign ſervice ought to be conſidered. If this ſtation ſhould be found to afford government an opportunity of maintaining a force in a moſt central and convenient poſition, and yet at a reduced expence, no one will diſpute that this conſideration alone is ſufficient to render the poſſeſſion of the colony an object of the moſt deſirable nature."

"I have now brought to a period my obſervations on the Cape of Good Hope. That errors may have crept in unperceived in the courſe of the work, I have no heſitation to acknowledge. I have however endeavoured, as far as I could, to deſcribe with fidelity what I ſaw and heard; and to deduce ſuch inferences from my obſervations, as they ſeemed naturally to lead to. If zeal for the intereſts of my country has made me over-rate either the advantages to be derived from the Cape of Good Hope, in the poſſeſſion of this country, or the dangers to be apprehended from its being occupied by our enemies, I truſt my failing in this reſpect will meet with the indulgence of the Public. I have ſerved my country in different quarters of the globe, and wherever it was my fortune to be ſtationed, I ever found her intriguing and perfidious enemies, the French, induſtriouſly labouring to accompliſh her overthrow. It is impoſſible, therefore, that I can behold, without the ſtrongeſt emotions of regret, theſe enemies poſſeſſed of a ſtation which affords them the means of undermining the pillars of our commercial grandeur.

"For the inaccuracy of arrangement and the errors of compoſition, it would be neceſſary for me to offer many apologies, were I not convinced that a candid Public will readily find an excuſe for ſuch imperfections in the works of an author who is obliged, even while he holds his pen, to attend to his military duties at this momentous criſis. The extreme liberality with which the moſt eminent critics of our own country, as well as thoſe on the continent, treated my firſt eſſay in compoſition, the Account of Ceylon, gives me room to hope that they will look with ſtill more indulgence on a work, written under many diſadvantages; not the offſpring of an interval of peace, but undertaken and completed by one engaged in military duty, amidſt the buſtle of unprecedented preparations for war."

Maps or *Charts* would certainly have proved a valuable addition to the work.

LXIII. WAR INCONSISTENT WITH CHRISTIANITY. *A Sermon, preached at St. James's Church, Bath, Friday, May 25th, on the Day of the General Faſt. By the Rev.* RICHARD WARNER, *Curate of that Pariſh. 22 pages. 1s. Robinſons. Second Edition.*

THIS eloquent diſcourſe, dedicated to Charles James Fox, has for its ſubject the reprobation of war, with a vindicatory preface of ſome length, written with a manly energy. A few of the firſt pages of the ſermon will be a fair ſpecimen.

"Matt. xxvi. 52.

"*Put up again thy Sword into his Place; for all they that take the Sword, ſhall periſh with the Sword.*

"The cannons of ſound criticiſm may be applied, with the ſame juſtice and propriety, to the Holy Scriptures, as to any other ſpecies of literary production; and in proportion as we try

them by these customary tests of verbal composition, in the same degree will their exterior beauty be made manifest, and the excellence of their internal character be felt and acknowledged. Unfortunately for the interests of religion, and the peace of human society, this principle has been too often either injudiciously neglected by the friends, or designedly violated by the enemies, of Christianity; who, by omitting, or prohibiting, the application of the established laws of critical adjudication to the Bible, have robbed this most valuable and curious of all books of an advantage which has been readily conceded to volumes of every other description. One, amongst many instances of this neglect or perverseness, is exemplified in the attempts that have been made, upon various occasions, and at all periods, to frame general doctrines out of particular texts; to build religious systems upon individual passages; and to make isolated parts of the Gospel speak the language, and breathe the spirit, of the whole.

"It was the contemplation of this future abuse of his holy religion, by the weakness or wickedness, the imprudence or impiety, of mankind, which drew from our Saviour that declaration of the destructive consequences to society which would follow the establishment of his Gospel in the world: "Think ye that I am come to send peace upon earth; nay, verily, I am not come to send peace, but the sword." A declaration that predicted, not the *necessary* result of the divine system of holiness and morality which he preached; but the effects that would flow from it, when converted (as he saw it certainly would be) into an instrument of human passion, prejudice, and folly. In confirmation of this prophetical assertion of our Saviour, we find that the annals of ecclesiastical history form a volume, whose chief subject is animosity and contention; whose every page is filled with sorrows, and stained with blood. On the foundation of particular expressions, detached from the main body of the system; of single phrases, garbled from the general context; and of solitary texts, perverted from their true meaning, and accommodated to false ones, by dislocation; we not only perceive, that doctrines have been constructed, and heresies raised, derogatory to the honour of God, and injurious to the cause of true religion; but that, pushed on by wickedness or bigotry, the establishment of these doctrines has poured such floods of infelicity upon society, as, in more instances than one, to have completely realized the melancholy picture which Christ beheld in the mirror of divine prescience, and which he described in the following words: "I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household."

"By the convenient adaptation of particular passages to their own purposes, both the infidel and the zealot have, at different times, pleaded the authority of scripture in support of their contrary systems,—of believing not at all, and believing too much; the one, by taxing the Word of God with inconsistencies and contradictions; and the other, (with little less dishonour to its purity) by fathering upon it doctrines and precepts entirely opposite to its general tendency and ultimate design. By the aid of the same partial extracts, the haughty Pharisee, and the crafty worldling also, shelter their principles under the sanction of the letter of the New Testament; the former adducing from it his vouchers for the circumscription of eternal salvation to the particular pale or sect to which he belongs; the other bringing forward God's authority to desolate his own beautiful works, and to let loose over the world war, confusion, and every species of violence and horror. Of these sad *contingent* effects produced to human society by the Gospel of Christ, (the *genuine* consequences of man's own absurdity or vice) few, if any, would have been displayed, had those fair and common rules of judgment been adopted in the interpretation of the New Testament, which are exercised with respect to every other work of literature; had expounders and commentators, theologians and controversialists, honestly observed that simple law of critical enquiry, to collect the meaning, intention, and design of the Gospel of Christ, not from so-

litary sentences and disjointed scraps, but from the scope, and argument, and sense of the whole.

"Generally essential, however, as the observance of this rule of criticism appears to be, with respect to the interpretation of any book, and perhaps of the New Testament more especially; yet there are cases, it should seem, in which we may venture with propriety to depart from it, and to deduce important doctrines from single and particular passages. But these instances, it must be observed, can only occur, where such particular passages are in perfect harmony with the *general spirit* of the volume before us: for, as in every literary production there appears to be a certain drift and design which the author had in view when he composed his work; a particular set of principles and opinions, which it is his manifest intention to impress upon the mind of his reader; so is it allowable to adduce any independent paragraph as characteristic of his main plan, then, and then only, when such paragraph is consistent with his chain of reasoning; when it exhibits, in a determinate and condensed form, propositions that are loosely expressed in other parts; or brings to a clear, luminous, and individual point, the scattered rays of an argument diffused over the general surface of his subject.

"The text which I have chosen for my consideration this morning appears to me to offer a fair example of such an admissible exception to our general rule; since I have no doubt of being able to prove, in the following discourse, that the specific prohibition which it contains against hostile violence, and the marked abhorrence implied in it of "wars and fightings," are in complete unison with the whole language of the Gospel of our Saviour, and breathe the genuine spirit of pure unadulterated Christianity. The occasion, indeed, on which the words were spoken, convinces us they were intended to be considered as a positive proposition; as an obligatory preceptive maxim; as a foundation both of doctrine and conduct for all the followers of Christ. It was an occasion the most awful to our Saviour, and most interesting to his disciples, that can be conceived. The fatal hour had now arrived, which Christ had so long anticipated in imagination, and at whose prospect, in the garden of Gethsemane, "his soul" had been "sorrowful even unto death." He was quickly to be delivered into the hands of sinners; and the bands of the enraged multitude, headed and urged on by his inveterate enemies, the chief-priests and the elders, were even now upon him. With respect to his disciples, they beheld their beloved Master, from whose mouth they had heard so many "gracious words;" from whose hand they had received so many substantial favours; who had so often soothed their sorrows, supplied their wants, enlightened their minds, improved their hearts, and comforted their souls: they beheld him, I say, seized upon by lawless ruffians; the pattern of purity and virtue, "taken as a thief, with swords and staves;" his "visage marred;" his person insulted; and the scene of violence commenced, which was only to terminate in torture and death. Was not this, then, an occasion which called loudly and imperiously for the "arm of flesh" to bare itself in vengeance of such outrage? Might not Jesus with the strictest justice have "prayed to his Father, that He would give him legions of angels," to deliver him from this scene of present distress and approaching suffering? Might not his followers with the most rigid propriety have "drawn their swords" in defence of their innocent Lord, to whom they were attached by all the ties of affection and all the bonds of virtue?—So reason the passions of man; but the Son of God, the founder of our religion, was influenced by different principles and higher motives. He well knew that the glory of his Almighty Father could never be promoted by acts of violence. He had visited earth for the purpose of teaching mankind a better lesson; a lesson of patience and resignation, of peaceableness and humility. Instead, therefore, of making use of that assistance from on high, which a single prayer could have procured him; or of commanding the services of his disciples, which would have been so readily exerted in his favour; he displayed a conduct exactly the reverse. He availed himself of an opportunity

which the forward zeal of Peter afforded him, of delivering an injunction, that pointed out, in one ponderous pithy ſentence, the unlawfulneſs of violence in the Chriſtian character: "Put up again thy ſword into his place; for all they that take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword."

"Of this remarkable paſſage it may be obſerved, that the latter part, like moſt of Chriſt's diſcourſes and ſayings, partakes of the figurative ſtyle of Eaſtern phraſeology; in other words, that it preſents an aſſertion not intended to be conſidered as *literally* true, but rather as illuſtrative and expoſitory; as ſhadowing out, under appropriate imagery, a direct and ſpecific propoſition, ſimilar to itſelf in idea, though different in terms. Viewed in this light, therefore, and ſtripped of its Oriental dreſs, the declaration of Chriſt may fairly be taken as a direct and unequivocal reprehenſion of hoſtile violence, both in individuals and ſtates; as denouncing the moſt fatal conſequences to each from its adoption; to the former, the perilous chances of battle, and the ſanguinary fury of the enraged enemy; to the latter, the deſtruction of political happineſs, the violation of the rights and intereſts of humanity, the proſtration of national proſperity, and the overthrow of public morality. As Chriſtianity was deſigned, by its wiſe and benevolent Author, to provide for the ſons of men a *capability* of felicity both in their temporal and eternal ſtate, ſo it made all theſe true conſtituents of ſocial comfort the objects of its peculiar care. It follows, therefore, as an undeniable concluſion, that whatever principle or practice is oppugnant to this deſign, whatever ſyſtem or act is ſubverſive of this plan, muſt be conſidered as contrary to the will, and hateful in the eye, of the Creator; and that, conſequently, War is inconſiſtent with his revealed religion."

LXIV. ZEAL AND FORTITUDE IN THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY ILLUSTRATED AND EXEMPLIFIED. *A Diſcourſe delivered at Hackney, April 8, 1804, on occaſion of the Death of the Rev.* JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S. &c. *To which is annexed a brief Memoir of Dr.* PRIESTLEY'S *Life and Writings, and a Letter from his Son, Mr.* JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, *containing the Particulars of his laſt Sickneſs. By* THOMAS BELSHAM. *Johnſon.* 2s.

THIS able Diſcourſe has for its text Acts xxii. 24. and is dedicated to the venerable Theophilus Lindſey.

We give the Memoirs of the *illuſtrious Prieſtley*.

"Dr. Joſeph Prieſtley was born at Field Head, near Leeds, in Yorkſhire, March 13, O. S., in the year 1733.

"His mother died when he was very young; and his father marrying again, having alſo a large family, and not being in very affluent circumſtances, when he was eight years of age he was taken into the houſe of a near relation, a lady eminent for piety and benevolence, who adopted and educated him as her own ſon.

"He acquired the rudiments of the Latin and Greek languages under the inſtruction of Mr. Hague, a reſpectable clergyman, who was maſter of a free grammar-ſchool in the neighbourhood; and during the vacations he applied to the ſtudy of Hebrew, Chaldee, and other oriental languages. With the aſſiſtance of Mr. Haggerſton, a learned diſſenting miniſter, who had been a pupil of the celebrated Maclaurin, he made conſiderable proficiency in geometry, ſpeculative and practical, algebra, and natural philoſophy. He alſo acquired ſome ſkill in modern languages, in order to qualify himſelf for a merchant's compting-houſe; the delicacy of his conſtitution rendering it at one time doubtful whether he would be able to purſue his ſtudies for the miniſtry. At this time he alſo read with great attention Locke's Eſſay on the Underſtanding.

"Thus prepared, he entered, in the autumn of 1752, when he was in his nineteenth year, as a divinity ſtudent at the academy at Daventry, then under the care of Mr., afterwards Dr. Caleb Aſhworth, who had lately ſucceeded to Dr. Doddridge as Principal of the inſtitution for the education of diſſenting miniſters, ſupported by a fund bequeathed for that purpoſe by the late William Coward, Eſq. Here he continued for three years.

"In the year 1755, immediately after he left the academy, he ſettled with a ſmall congregation at Needham Market in Suffolk, where he continued

three years with a ſociety which promiſed him forty pounds per annum, but which never raiſed him thirty. Here he would have been expoſed to conſiderable inconvenience from the narrowneſs of his circumſtances, his remittances from Yorkſhire alſo failing him, had it not been for the kind patronage of Dr. Benſon and Dr. Kippis. While he lived in this place, he wrote an eſſay againſt the doctrine of the atonement, which was approved by Dr. Lardner, and publiſhed under his patronage, but without the author's name.

"In the year 1758 he removed to a ſmall congregation at Nantwich in Cheſhire, where he raiſed a conſiderable ſchool; but being invited three years afterwards to the chair of Belles Letres in the academy at Warrington, he accepted the invitation, and removed thither in September 1761.

"Here he remained ſix years; and by the ſplendour of his talents he added greatly to the celebrity of that reſpectable inſtitution. During his reſidence in this place he compoſed and delivered courſes of Lectures upon the Theory of Language, upon Oratory and Criticiſm, upon Hiſtory and general Policy, and upon the Conſtitution and Laws of England; ſome of which were afterwards publiſhed. At Warrington he publiſhed an Eſſay upon a Courſe of Liberal Education, an Eſſay on Government, and a Chart of Biography: and he there compoſed and publiſhed a work which elevated him at once to a very high degree of philoſophical reputation, a Hiſtory of the Diſcoveries in Electricity. This work, undertaken at the expreſs deſire of Dr. Franklin, Dr. Price, Dr. Watſon, and Mr. Canton, was begun, completed, and printed in leſs than a year; and that without any interruption to the author's profeſſional duties.

"At Warrington, in the year 1762, he married the daughter of Mr. Iſaac Wilkinſon, a reſpectable iron-maſter near Wrexham in Denbighſhire; and it was during his reſidence there that the univerſity of Edinburgh conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and at the recommendation of his philoſophical friends abovementioned, he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society.

"The finances of the Warrington academy not affording a reaſonable proſpect of providing for a family, he was induced to accept an invitation, which he received from a reſpectable congregation at Leeds, whither he removed with his family in the autumn of 1767, and in this connection he continued for ſix years.

"At Leeds he renewed his attention to theological ſubjects, which indeed he had never entirely neglected. Here he wrote and publiſhed a Harmony of the Goſpels, both in Greek and Engliſh, to which were prefixed ſome valuable Diſſertations. About the ſame time he publiſhed his Inſtitutes of Natural and Revealed Religion, a work which he had compoſed while he was a ſtudent at Daventry. He alſo publiſhed Catechiſms, Family Prayers, and an Eſſay upon the Lord's Supper; and, in conjunction with his excellent and learned friend, the late Mr. Turner of Wakefield, he ſuperintended the publication of three volumes of the Theological Repoſitory. Here he alſo publiſhed ſome ſmaller tracts in defence of what he conceived to be the genuine doctrines of Chriſtianity; of theſe, one, entitled an "Appeal to the Serious Profeſſors of Chriſtianity," was read with great avidity, and upwards of twenty thouſand copies were circulated. In this interval he alſo wrote Animadverſions upon ſome Paſſages in Judge Blackſtone's Commentaries; and likewiſe his firſt controverſial work in theology, being an anſwer to an angry pamphlet of Mr. Venn upon the ſubject of the Lord's Supper.

"But while employed in his theological purſuits, he did not neglect to proſecute his philoſophical reſearches. At Leeds he began his enquiries into the ſubject of different kinds of air; his curious and important diſcoveries in which would alone be ſufficient to immortalize his name. He alſo publiſhed a Hiſtory of the Diſcoveries in Viſion, Light, and Colours, and a Chart of Hiſtory, ſimilar to what he had before publiſhed on Biography.

"It was during his reſidence at Leeds that he firſt commenced an acquaintance with the reverend Theophilus Lindſey, then vicar of Catterick, and began a correſpondence and intimacy which he profeſſed to have been "a ſource of more real ſatisfaction to him than any other circumſtances in his whole life."

"In the year 1773 Dr. Prieſtley received a liberal invitation from the marquis of Landsdowne, then earl of Shelburne, to reſide with him, which he, in conſideration of the increaſing expences of his growing family, willingly accepted; and, in company with the marquis, he the next year went abroad, and was introduced to many eminent philoſophers and other perſons of diſtinction upon the continent.

"His connection with the marquis of Lanſdowne continued ſeven years; and in this period he wrote and publiſhed four volumes of Experiments upon Air; Obſervations upon the Philoſophy of Dr. Reid, Dr. Beattie, and Dr. Oſwald; Diſquiſitions concerning Matter and Spirit, and Illuſtrations of the Doctrine of Neceſſity; his third volume of Inſtitutes, and his firſt volume of Letters to a Philoſophical Unbeliever. He alſo publiſhed his Lectures on Oratory and Criticiſm. It was in this interval, likewiſe, that he carried on an amicable controverſy with Dr. Newcome, then biſhop of Waterford, and afterwards primate of Ireland, upon the ſubject of the Duration of our Lord's Miniſtry, and another with Dr. Price concerning Materialiſm and Neceſſity.

"The connection with the marquis of Lanſdowne having been diſſolved by mutual conſent in the year 1780, Dr. Prieſtley's next remove was to Birmingham, where he was ſoon invited to accept the paſtoral office to the congregation aſſembling at the New Meeting, in connection with Mr. Blythe. Here he remained nearly eleven years, and this period he always ſpoke of as the happieſt and moſt uſeful part of his life; being here connected not only with a numerous, reſpectable, and affectionate ſociety, but likewiſe with many agreeable aſſociates in the departments both of philoſophy and divinity.

"The unhappy and diſgraceful cauſe of his removal from Birmingham is too well known to need particular detail. While he reſided there he compoſed and publiſhed many valuable works both in philoſophy and divinity. Under the former head he continued to proſecute his experiments upon air and other branches of chemiſtry. In divinity he publiſhed the Hiſtory of the Corruptions of Chriſtianity, in two volumes, which was ſoon ſucceeded by the Hiſtory of early Opinions concerning the Perſon of Chriſt, an elaborate and learned work in four volumes; and this was followed, at no great diſtance of time, by the Hiſtory of the Chriſtian Church to the time of Conſtantine. Theſe works involved him in many controverſies, particularly with Dr. Horſley, the preſent biſhop of St. Aſaph, then archdeacon of St. Albans; a controverſy in which, notwithſtanding the overbearing temper and great talents and learning of his adverſary, Dr. Prieſtley was completely victorious. The number of his antagoniſts induced him to write an annual defence of unitarianiſm, in reply to his opponents, amongſt whom appeared the late learned and celebrated Dr. Geddes. Though he ſeldom meddled with politics, yet at the deſire of ſome of his friends he wrote a reply to Mr. Burke upon the ſubject of the French revolution; and being ſtimulated by ſome unfounded and unprovoked attacks upon his character, he addreſſed a volume of Familiar Letters, in his own defence, to the inhabitants of Birmingham.

"Upon his removal from Birmingham in July 1791, he was very ſoon choſen to ſucceed his intimate and venerable friend Dr. Price, then lately deceaſed, in the charge of a flouriſhing congregation of rational diſſenters at Hackney, who moſt highly valued, though they were not deſtined long to enjoy the benefit of his talents and his labours; for in the ſpring of the year 1794, for reaſons which he has himſelf ſtated to the public, he thought fit to remove with his family to America.

"While he reſided at Hackney he gave lectures gratuitouſly, to the ſtudents of the New College, in chemiſtry and experimental philoſophy, which lectures he afterwards publiſhed. In the ſame period he alſo publiſhed an Appeal to the Public on the ſubject of the Riots at Birmingham, and a Sermon upon the Forgiveneſs of Injuries, intended to have been preached upon the ruins of his meeting-houſe, if his friends, anxious for his ſafety, would have permitted him to have gone down for that purpoſe. He alſo engaged in a controverſy with

Mr. Wakefield upon public worship, and with Mr. Evanson upon the sabbatical observation of the Lord's day, and upon the dissonance of the evangelists. He likewise published a Fast Sermon and a Farewell Sermon to his Congregation at Hackney, in the preface to the former of which he assigns his reasons for leaving his native country. The last work he published in England was a volume of Sermons in Defence of Revealed Religion.

"He left this country for America in April 1794, and soon after his arrival there he fixed his residence in Northumberland, a town about 150 miles west from Philadelphia, where he built himself a commodious house. Here he passed the remainder of his days, with the exception of a few occasional visits to Philadelphia, in one of which he was attacked by a fever, from the effects of which he never perfectly recovered. He declined the offer of the Chemical Professorship in the College of Philadelphia, which was made to him soon after his arrival in America, and likewise another offer of succeeding to the late respectable Dr Ewing, as Principal of the same college, in the spring of 1803; preferring a life of retirement and leisure, that he might devote himself more entirely to philosophical and theological enquiries. While he lived at Northumberland, he had the misfortune to lose an excellent wife and a beloved and dutiful son: these afflictions, though severely felt, he bore with his accustomed fortitude of spirit, and pious resignation.

"Not being permitted to preach in the chapel belonging to the Calvinists, he performed divine service every Lord's day at his own house, to his family, and to the few who were disposed to join with him in unitarian worship. He cautiously abstained from all interference in American politics, and even declined becoming a citizen of the United States: yet such was the virulence of party spirit, and so numerous were the falsehoods which were industriously circulated against him in venal newspapers, which were believed because they were not contradicted, that without any suspicion of his situation, he was at one time in great danger of being expelled from the country under an alien bill. This induced him to publish a small pamphlet in his own defence under the title of Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland, which produced a very considerable effect in his favour. But after the accession of Mr. Jefferson, his situation became perfectly safe and tranquil; and he was at liberty to pursue his studies without interruption, which he did with unabated ardour to the last week of his life. An interesting account of Dr. Priestley's last illness, in a letter from his son, Mr. Joseph Priestley, to his most intimate friend the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, is annexed to this memoir of his life.

"During his residence in America, Dr. Priestley, besides some single sermons, and several papers in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Societies, published two additional volumes of Discourses on the Evidences of Divine Revelation; Observations on the Increase of Infidelity; Experiments and Observations relating to the Analysis of Atmospherical Air; the Doctrine of Phlogiston established; a Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos; an Essay on Baptism; Comparison of Jesus and Socrates; and the History of the Christian Church from the Fall of the Western Empire to the present Time, in four volumes octavo. His notes upon all the Books of Scripture are in the press, and will probably be published in the course of the summer. He has also written two pamphlets in reply to Dr. Linn, in defence of the unitarian doctrine; and he has left ready for the press, a Comparison of the Principles of the Grecian Philosophy with those of Revelation, and an Alphabetical Index to the Bible, which it is hoped will soon be given to the public.

"While Dr. Priestley was at Birmingham, he wrote some Cursory Memoirs of his own Life, a brief but very interesting and instructive work, which, though in some degree mutilated at the time of the riots at Birmingham, he left in my hands when he quitted the country; and which will in due time be published agreeably to his express directions. It is much to be wished that the continuation of these memoirs may be found amongst his papers in America, and

that these may likewise, at a proper season, be communicated to the public. It has been observed, that when a person writes his own history, he generally conveys to an intelligent reader a just idea of his character, whether he intends it or not; and I have no fear of exciting a fallacious expectation, when I add, that the impression which will be made upon every candid and serious mind by a perusal of Dr. Priestley's memoirs of himself, will be highly favourable both to his talents and his virtues."

We transcribe also the account of this *great man's* last illness and death. "*A short Account of the last Illness of the Rev.* Dr. PRIESTLEY, *in a Letter from his Son, Mr.* JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, *of Northumberland, in America, to the Rev.* THEOPHILUS LINDSEY, *in London.*

"Though my father's general conduct in life, particularly on many trying occasions, sufficiently proved the value of his religious principles, and how much he was influenced by them, yet the force of them was so conspicuously displayed during his last illness, and particularly the last three or four days of it, that for the benefit of myself and my children I have noted down some particulars respecting his behaviour at that time, hoping it may have the effect of encouraging myself and them in the cultivation of the same principles and the same pious dispositions.

"Since his illness in Philadelphia, in the year 1801, he never enjoyed such good health as he had before done. Before that period and since the time he left England he scarcely knew what sickness was, and he frequently said he had never during any part of his life enjoyed such good health. He took great delight in his garden, and in viewing the little improvements going forward in and about the town. The rapidly increasing prosperity of the country, whether as it regarded its agriculture, manufactures and commerce, or the increasing taste for science and literature, were all of them to him the sources of the purest pleasure. For the last four years of his life he lived under an administration, the principles and practice of which he perfectly approved of, and with Mr. Jefferson, the head of that administration, he frequently corresponded, and they had for each other a mutual regard and esteem. He enjoyed the esteem of the wisest and best men in the country, particularly at Philadelphia, where his religion and his politics did not prevent his being kindly and cheerfully received by great numbers of opposite opinions in both, who thus paid homage to his knowledge and virtue. At home he was beloved; and besides the advantages of an excellent library, to which he was continually making additions, and of a laboratory that was amply provided with every thing necessary for an experimental chemist, he was perfectly freed, as he had happily been through life, in consequence of my mother's ability and attention, from any attention to worldly concerns; considering himself, as he used to express himself, merely as a lodger, and had all his time to devote to his theological and philosophical pursuits. He had the satisfaction of witnessing the gradual spread of his religious opinions, and the fullest conviction that he should prevail over his opponents in chemistry. He looked forward with the greatest pleasure to future exertions in both these fields, and had within the last month or six weeks been projecting many improvements in his apparatus, which he meant to make use of upon the return of warm weather in the spring. Notwithstanding, therefore, the many trials he underwent in this country, he had still great sources of happiness left, unalloyed by any apprehension of any material defect in any of his senses, or of any abatement of the vigour of his mind. Consistent with the above was his declaration that, excepting the want of the society of Mr. L. Mr. B. and two or three other particular friends, which however was made up to him, in some, though in a small degree, by their regular correspondence, he had never upon the whole spent any part of his life more happily, nor, he believed, more usefully.

"The first part of his illness, independent of his general weakness, the result of his illness in Philadelphia in 1801, was a constant indigestion, and a difficulty of swallowing meat or any kind of solid food unless previously reduced by mastication to

a perfect pulp. This gradually increaſed upon him till he could ſwallow liquids but very ſlowly, and led him to ſuſpect, which he did to the laſt, that there muſt be ſome ſtoppage in the œſophagus. Latterly he lived almoſt entirely upon tea, chocolate, ſoups, ſago, cuſtard puddings, and the like. During all this time of general and increaſing debility, he was buſily employed in printing his Church Hiſtory, and the firſt volume of the Notes on Scripture; and in making new and original experiments. During this period, likewiſe, he wrote his pamphlet of Jeſus and Socrates compared, and re-printed his Eſſay on Phlogiſton. He would not ſuffer any one to do for him what he had been accuſtomed to do himſelf; nor did he alter his former mode of life in any reſpect, excepting that he no longer worked in his garden, and that he read more books of a miſcellaneous nature than he had been uſed to do when he could work more in his laboratory, which had always ſerved him as a relaxation from his other ſtudies.

"From about the beginning of November 1803, to the middle of January 1804, his complaint grew more ſerious. He was once incapable of ſwallowing any thing for near thirty hours; and there being ſome ſymptoms of inflammation at his ſtomach, bliſters were applied, which afforded him relief; and by very great attention to his diet, riding out in a chair when the weather would permit, and living chiefly on the ſoft parts of oyſters, he ſeemed if not gaining ground, at leaſt not getting worſe; and we had reaſon to hope that if he held out till ſpring as he was, the ſame attention to his diet with more exerciſe, which it was impoſſible for him to take on account of the cold weather, would reſtore him to health. He, however, conſidered his life as very precarious, and uſed to tell the phyſician who attended him, that if he could but patch him up for ſix months longer he ſhould be perfectly ſatisfied, as he ſhould in that time be able to complete printing his works. The ſwelling of his feet, an alarming ſymptom of general debility, began about this time.

"To give ſome idea of the exertions he made even at this time, it is only neceſſary for me to ſay, that beſides his miſcellaneous reading, which was at all times very great, he read through all the works quoted in his compariſon of the different ſyſtems of the Grecian philoſophers with chriſtianity, compoſed that work, and tranſcribed the whole of it in leſs than three months. He took the precaution of copying one day in long hand what he had compoſed the day before in ſhort hand, that he might by that means leave the work complete as far as it went, ſhould he not live to complete the whole. During this period he compoſed in a day his ſecond reply to Dr. Linn.

"About this time he ceaſed performing divine ſervice, which he ſaid he had never before known himſelf incapable of performing, notwithſtanding he had been a preacher ſo many years. He likewiſe now ſuffered me to rake his fire, rub his feet with a fleſh-bruſh, and occaſionally help him to bed. In the mornings likewiſe he had his fire made for him, which he always uſed to do himſelf, and generally before any of the family was ſtirring.

"In the laſt fortnight in January he was troubled with alarming fits of indigeſtion; his legs ſwelled nearly to his knees, and his weakneſs increaſed very much. I wrote for him, while he dictated the concluding ſection of his New Compariſon, and the Preface and Dedication. The finiſhing this work was a ſource of great ſatisfaction to him, as he conſidered it as a work of as much conſequence as any he had ever undertaken. The firſt alarming ſymptom of approaching diſſolution was his being unable to ſpeak to me upon my entering the room on Tueſday morning the 31ſt of January. In his Diary I find he ſtated his ſituation as follows: "Ill all day. Not able to ſpeak for near three hours." When he was able to ſpeak he told me he had ſlept well, as he uniformly had done through the whole of his illneſs; ſo that he never would ſuffer me, though I frequently requeſted he would do it, to ſleep in the ſame room with him; and that he felt as well as poſſible; that he got up and ſhaved himſelf, which he never omitted doing every morning till within two

days of his death; that he went to his laboratory, and then found his weakneſs very great; that he got back with difficulty; that juſt afterward his grand-daughter, a child of about ſix or ſeven years old, came to him to claim the fulfilment of a promiſe he had made her the evening before, to give her a fivepenny bit. He gave her the money, and was going to ſpeak to her, but found himſelf unable. He informed me of this, ſpeaking very ſlowly a word at a time; and added, that he had never felt more pleaſantly in his whole life than he did during the time he was unable to ſpeak. After he had taken his medicine, which was bark and laudanum, and drank a baſon of ſtrong mutton broth, he recovered ſurpriſingly, and talked with chearfulneſs to all who called upon him, but as though he was fully ſenſible that he had not long to live. He conſented for the firſt time that I ſhould ſleep in the room with him.

"On Wedneſday, February 1, he writes, "I was at times much better in the morning: capable of ſome buſineſs: continued better all day." He ſpake this morning as ſtrong as uſual, and took in the courſe of the day a good deal of nouriſhment with pleaſure. He ſaid, that he felt a return of ſtrength, and with it there was a duty to perform. He read a good deal in Newcome's Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, and Steven's Hiſtory of the War. In the afternoon he gave me ſome directions how to proceed with the printing his work in caſe he ſhould die. He gave me directions to ſtop the printing of the ſecond volume, and to begin upon the third, that he might ſee how it was begun, and that it might ſerve as a pattern for me to proceed by.

"On Thurſday, the 2d, he wrote thus for the laſt time in his Diary: "Much work: incapable of buſineſs: Mr. Kennedy came to receive inſtructions about printing in caſe of my death. He ſat up, however, a great part of the day, was chearful, and gave Mr. Cooper and myſelf ſome directions, with the ſame compoſure as though he had only been about to leave home for a ſhort time. Though it was fatiguing to him to talk, he read a good deal in the works abovementioned.

"On Friday he was much better. He ſat up a good part of the day reading Newcome; Dr. Diſney's Tranſlation of the Pſalms; and ſome chapters in the Greek Teſtament, which was his daily practice. He corrected a proof ſheet of the Notes on Iſaiah. When he went to bed he was not ſo well: he had an idea he ſhould not live another day. At prayer-time he wiſhed to have the children kneel by his ſide, ſaying, it gave him great pleaſure to ſee the little things kneel; and, thinking he poſſibly might not ſee them again, he gave them his bleſſing.

"On Saturday, the 4th, my father got up for about an hour while his bed was made. He ſaid he felt more comfortable in bed than up. He read a good deal in bed, and looked over the firſt ſheet of the third volume of the Notes, that he might ſee how we were likely to go on with it; and having examined the Greek and Hebrew quotations, and finding them right, he ſaid he was ſatisfied we ſhould finiſh the work very well. In the courſe of the day, he expreſſed his gratitude in being permitted to die quietly in his family, without pain, with every convenience and comfort he could wiſh for. He dwelt upon the peculiarly happy ſituation in which it had pleaſed the Divine Being to place him in life; and the great advantage he had enjoyed in the acquaintance and friendſhip of ſome of the beſt and wiſeſt men in the age in which he lived, and the ſatisfaction he derived from having led an uſeful as well as a happy life.

"On Sunday he was much weaker, and only ſat up in an armed chair while his bed was made. He deſired me to read to him the eleventh chapter of John. I was going on to read to the end of the chapter, but he ſtopped me at the 45th verſe. He dwelt for ſome time on the advantage he had derived from reading the ſcriptures daily, and adviſed me to do the ſame; ſaying, that it would prove to me, as it had done to him, a ſource of the pureſt pleaſure. He deſired me to reach him a pamphlet which was at his bed's head, Simpſon on the Duration of future Puniſhment. "It will be a ſource of ſatisfaction to you to read that pamphlet," ſaid he, giving it to me. "It contains my ſentiments, and a belief in them will be a ſupport to you in the moſt trying circumſtances,

as it has been to me. We shall all meet finally: we only require different degrees of discipline, suited to our different tempers, to prepare us for final happiness." Upon Mr. ——— coming into his room, he said, "You see, Sir, I am still living." Mr. —— observed, he would always live. "Yes," said he, "I believe I shall; and we shall all meet again in another and a better world." He said this with great animation, laying hold on Mr. ———'s hand in both his.

"Before prayers he desired me to reach him three publications, about which he would give me some directions next morning. His weakness would not permit him to do it at any time.

"At prayers he had all the children brought to his bed-side, as before. After prayers they wished him a good night, and were leaving the room. He desired them to stay, spoke to them each separately. He told Joseph to treat his father and mother, when they should be old and sick, as they had treated him. He exhorted them all to continue to love each other. "And you, little thing," speaking to Eliza, "remember the hymn you learned; 'Birds in their little nests agree,' &c. I am going to sleep as well as you: for death is only a good long sound sleep in the grave, and we shall meet again." He congratulated us on the dispositions of our children; said it was a satisfaction to see them likely to turn out well; and continued for some time to express his confidence in a happy immortality, and in a future state, which would afford us ample field for the exertion of our faculties.

"On Monday morning, the 6th of February, after having lain perfectly still till four o'clock in the morning, he called to me, but in a fainter tone than usual, to give him some wine and tincture of bark. I asked him how he felt. He answered, he had no pain, but appeared fainting away gradually. About an hour after, he asked me for some chicken broth, of which he took a tea cup full. His pulse was quick, weak, and fluttering: his breathing, though easy, short. About eight o'clock, he asked me to give him some egg and wine. After this he lay quite still till ten o'clock, when he desired me and Mr. Cooper to bring him the pamphlets* we had looked out the evening before. He then dictated as clearly and distinctly as he had ever done in his life the additions and alterations he wished to have made in each. Mr. Cooper took down the substance of what he said, which, when he had done, I read to him. He said Mr. Cooper had put it in his own language; he wished it to be put in his. I then took a pen and ink to his bed-side. He then repeated over again, nearly word for word, what he had before said; and when I had done, I read it over to him. "That is right; I have now done." About half an hour after he desired, in a faint voice, that we would move him from the bed on which he lay to a cot, that he might lie with his lower limbs horizontal, and his head upright. He died in about ten minutes after we had moved him, but breathed his last so easy, that neither myself or my wife, who were both sitting close to him, perceived it at the time. He had put his hand to his face, which prevented our observing it.

LXV. A BIOGRAPHICAL TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THE REV. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, L. L. D. F. R. S. *in an Address to the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters, at the new Meeting, in Birmingham, delivered April* 22, 1804, *on occasion of his Death.* BY JOSHUA TOULMIN, D. D. *To which is added, A Letter to the Congregation,* By JOHN KENTISH. *Both published at the unanimous request of the Society. To which are prefixed, The Resolutions of a Special General Meeting of the Congregation, held the* 15*th of April. Johnson.* 40 *pages* 1*s.* 6*d.*

THIS instructive discourse dedicated also to Mr. Lindsay, has for its text John v. 35, and is a complete piece of biography. The worthy author thus closes:

"Thus this eminent and amiable, this devout and benevolent man, finished a most useful and active life; keeping in view to the last, the object which had animated all his studies,

* N. B. The Pamphlets which Mr. Priestley here mentions were, The Comparison of Jesus and Socrates, and two pamphlets in defence of it.

and diſplaying that energy which had ever ſhowed the ſuperiority of his mind. "He lived and died," it is juſtly ſaid, "an example of the ſublime ſimplicity of character which has ever been attendant on the firſt rate abilities, uniformly exerted for the benefit of mankind." The exemplary ſpirit and language, which diſtinguiſhed his laſt moments, will never, I hope, be forgotten. 'The narrative, it is reported, has produced a favourable effect upon ſome perſons of rank and faſhion. It is a pleaſing teſtimony to the power of *his* chriſtian principles.'

"'The wiſe man dieth.' Neither genius, nor great abilities, nor energy of mind, can elude the darts of the king of terrors, or withſtand the force of his arrows. The tongue of the eloquent becometh mute. The pen drops from the hand of the learned. The moſt active powers loſe all their vigour, and a period is put to exertion and uſefulneſs. The ſame event awaits the man of ſcience, the philoſopher and the divine, as waits "the fooliſh and the brutiſh" perſon.

"But, when living, the former enlightened and bleſſed the world. When they die, the effects of their ſtudies and labours remain. Their example left deep impreſſions on the minds of others. Their writings will continue to ſpeak to new generations. Though they were mortal, we rejoice that they *did* live. We adore the providence which, in different periods of time, has raiſed up great and uſeful characters, to pour the light of knowledge on the world, and to call men to goodneſs and virtue. We read, with the glow of philanthropy, of thoſe who were, in former times, the lights and ornaments of their own day, the able advocates of truth, and the bright patterns of goodneſs. If we have known ſuch, if we have enjoyed the benefit of their inſtructions, labours and example, let us praiſe and adore the providence which gave them to be the lights and ornaments of our days, and placed us within the orbit of their enlightening, attractive and animating influences. I devoutly rejoice that I was a contemporary with Dr. Prieſtley, had an intereſt in his eſteem and regards, and have been inſtructed and edified by his pen and example.

"Let us all, my friends, rejoice with devout gladneſs, that we have known a PRIESTLEY. His example, his precepts, his principles, it is hoped remain, and will live, in your memory and your hearts. The ſentiments of regard and affection to *you* were felt by *him* to the laſt. To *you* he had intended to dedicate his Annotations on the Old and New Teſtament. You, as one of your reſpectable members, in advanced years, remarked to me, have been highly favoured by a ſucceſſion of worthy, amiable and excellent paſtors, diſtinguiſhed by miniſterial gifts and zeal. Your character, as a religious ſociety, is worthy of them. May it ever continue ſuch; an animating example to other chriſtian churches, of piety and virtue, of regularity and conſtancy in your attendance on public worſhip, of peace and harmony among yourſelves, of a judicious and well-grounded acquaintance with the principles of chriſtian knowledge, and of ardor to ſupport and advance the cauſe of pure chriſtianity.

"Permit me to enforce this general exhortation, this devout and earneſt wiſh, in the words of your venerable paſtor, whoſe death we lament: in thoſe words, with which he took his leave of the congregation he was laſt connected with; in which you will conſider him as addreſſing you from the grave.

"The great object of the diſpenſation of the goſpel is to purify us unto God, 'a peculiar people, zealous of good works.' This is alſo the great object of all chriſtian churches. It is nothing leſs than to *build up* the members of them, that is, in faith and holineſs, to raiſe and improve their characters, in order 'to give them an inheritance among them that are ſanctified;' i. e. to prepare them for future happineſs. It is, as it were, to take men out of the world, to wean them from the low purſuits and gratifications of it, and to make them *citizens of heaven*; to raiſe the ſons of men to the high character, and honour, of the *ſons of God*, and make them heirs of a happy immortality. And is not every other object low and mean compared with this? Give it, then, that place in your regards to which it is entitled, and, amidſt all the neceſſary cares of this life, never loſe ſight of your great deſtination for another. Suffer not your minds to be faſcinated by any

thing that this world can present to you; but, as the apostle exhorts, holding all other things in deservedly low estimation, 'walk worthy of God, and be fruitful in every good word and work to do his will.' 'Seeing,' as another apostle observes, 'that all these things must be dissolved,' since all our connexions here must soon be broken, at least by death, and an infinitely more important state awaits us beyond the grave, 'what manner of persons ought we to be in holy conversation and godliness?'" Amen.

LXVI. *A Sermon, preached April* 22, 1804, *at Mill Hill Chapel, in Leeds, on the Death of the Rev.* Dr. PRIESTLEY. *By* WM. WOOD, F. L. S. 45 *pages. Johnson.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

JOHN v. 35, is the passage on which this manly address is founded—and it thus energetically closes respecting the late *Dr. Priestley.*

"He has now finished a long and eventful life: he has gone through good and evil report: he has met with affectionate friends and malignant enemies: he has experienced in this world much enjoyment, and not a little suffering. He was a man, and therefore liable to err. Like all other men he doubtless sometimes erred. His judgment was fallible, and might sometimes mistake falsehood for truth: his feelings were strong, and his language might not always be sufficiently guarded. But his heart was never materially wrong: his life was an uniform course of sincere and rational godliness, of unwearied and extensive usefulness, of strict and undeviating personal virtue. And his last moments were in perfect union with the whole of his former days: his ruling passions, a love of sacred truth, a desire to promote the extention of religious knowledge, and a warm regard to the best interests of mankind, continued with him till the hour of death. *He rests from his labour, and his works follow him. He has been a burning and a shining light*; and those who truly knew him *rejoiced in his light.* Like a fervent summer's sun, he rose at an early hour, to send forth his beams far and wide, and illustrate the wonders of his Creator's works; and though, when not far advanced beyond the height of noon, he was assailed by a sudden storm, which hid him from the eyes of men, and seemed for a time to have blotted him out from the firmament of heaven, he moved in a sphere far above its reach, and passed on with undiminished strength. His rays were intercepted, but not extinguished: his glory was obscured, but not lost. He soon dispelled the thickest blackness of the gloom, burst, at length, through the yielding cloud, and at the solemn hour of eve, appeared all calm and serene, with a less dazzling splendour, but apparently with a larger orb; giving to the admiring world a delightful earnest that he will rise again to a brighter morn, and shine with a new lustre through the ever-extending course of a constant day.

Happy will it be for us, my brethren, if, like him, we persevere to the end. Without his splendid endowments, we may imitate his sterling virtues; without his acute discernment, we may search for useful truth as for hidden treasure; without his extensive knowledge, we may become wise to the everlasting salvation of our souls."

LXVII. *A Sermon, preached in the Unitarian Chapel, in Essex street, London, Sunday, April* 15, 1804, *on Occasion of the Death of the Rev.* JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D. F. R. S. &c. *who died at Northumberland in Pensylvania, North America, February* 4, 1804. *Published at particular Request. By* JOHN DISNEY, D. D. F. S. A. *Johnson.* 22 *pages. Second Edition.*

DR. Disney has chosen for his text Rev. xiv 13, and has paid an ingenious tribute of respect to the memory of his learned friend.

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